MODERN ELECTIONEERING PRACTICE

HENRY JAMES HOUSTON
AND
LIONEL VALDAR

presiding officer, List of tendered votes, Ballot paper account, Statutory questions (oaths and affirmations), Tape and twine, Matches, Seal and sealing wax, Envelopes (foolscap), Envelopes (small), Envelopes (large, 9in., with printed endorsement), Notepaper, Paper (foolscap, blotting, cartridge or brown, large sheets), Pentateuch and Testament, Statement of number of votes marked by the presiding officer, Cards of re-admission to polling stations, Stamping instrument, "In" and "Out" cards, Posters of "Directions to Voters," "Offences against the Ballot Act," "Caution to Electors."

Under the heading of "furniture," the Returning Officer must supply ballot boxes with locks and keys. These can usually be obtained from the local authorities. The holding of polls at a general election all on the same day increases the number required, and the Returning Officer should be certain that he is in possession of sufficient for the efficient conduct of the election. An election is void if ballot boxes or other materials for voting are not available. Every ballot box purchased is the property of the State, and should be handed over to the local authority for custody after the election.

Voting compartments present another difficulty in a general election, and care should be taken to see that ample provision is made for them. Furniture such as chairs, tables, etc., lights and fires may be provided and charged at actual and necessary cost. Stamping instruments may be purchased, hired, altered, or repaired, and charged at actual and necessary cost. As the official mark shall be marked on both sides of the ballot paper, and as such mark may be either stamped or perforated on the ballot paper, an embossing or perforating machine is the most convenient.

The official mark may be any word, letter, combination of letters, cipher, or design whatever; but whatever be the mark, the Returning Officer shall keep it secret, and an interval of not less than seven years shall intervene between the use of the same official mark at elections for the same county or borough. This provision has been applied to municipal and local government elections, and thus an official mark, used within seven years at any municipal or local government election, cannot be used at a parliamentary election for the same county, division, or borough.

Printing.

The first and most important concern under this heading is, of course, the provision of ballot papers. Each polling station must be supplied with a number equal to the total number of registered voters at the station, with an additional allowance for spoils. The ballot papers must be printed and numbered in the prescribed pattern, as given in the Ballot Act, and have printed thereon the names, addresses, and descriptions of all the candidates, as shewn on their nomination papers. They must be printed in strict alphabetical order of candidates' surnames.

Tendered ballot papers must also be provided, printed on a different colour paper, but in every other respect to correspond with the other ballot papers. The papers must be made up into books, capable of being cut. A record of the numbers supplied to each station should be kept, and a receipt therefor taken from the presiding officer.

The actual and necessary cost of printing and the conveyance of ballot papers to the polling stations is chargeable against the Treasury, as also is the cost of voters' registers, including Absent Voters' Lists.

All forms, books and other publications required for use by Returning and Presiding Officers during an election can be obtained from the publishers of this work. (See advertisement pages.)

THE LEADING WORK ON ELECTION LAW
(Published 1920).

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THE
POWERS, DUTIES AND LIABILITIES
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APPENDICES.

Forms. Statutes. Orders and Regulations. Parliamentary Election Petition Rules.

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Table of Abbreviations. Cases. Statutes, Rules and Orders cited and in Appendix II, III, and IV.

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MODERN ELECTIONEERING PRACTICE.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

MODERN ELECTIONEERING PRACTICE

by

HENRY JAMES HOUSTON

O.B.E.

(Parliamentary Election, Political, and Publicity Agent.)

and

LIONEL VALDAR

**A Manual for Candidates, Election Agents, M.P.s,
Registration Agents, Returning Officers,
Presiding Officers, and all engaged in
Parliamentary, County, and
Municipal Elections**

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DEDICATION.

To all engaged professionally or as candidates or members in the operation of a free and democratic franchise and a secret ballot—at once the palladium of a nation's liberties and its bulwark against revolution—this book is dedicated.

PREFACE.

By HENRY J. HOUSTON, O.B.E.

Thomas Hardy once pointed out that the important thing in life is not achievement, but aim; not things done but willed.

Even from an affectation of modesty I cannot make such a plea in connection with a work of this character, the value and utility of which depend solely upon the measure of achievement.

I have sought, in writing this book, to take the election agent by the hand from the moment the writ is issued, and accompany him as guide, philosopher, and friend through all the intricate maze of operations embraced in the term "electioneering," until he leaves his candidate at the door of St. Stephens, awaiting the summons of the Speaker to sign the Roll as a Member of the Imperial Parliament.

I have sought, moreover, to point out to the inexperienced parliamentary candidate the path he should tread if he would realise the dream of his ambition, and once that dream is realised, to make plain to him in one comprehensive chapter the mysteries of the House of Commons procedure. It is a melancholy fact that probably not more than twenty members of that august assembly can truthfully be described as masters of its rules and procedure. Its problems are learnedly dealt with in a deservedly famous tome of nearly a thousand pages, well-known to and respected by legislators, but far too ponderous for the average busy Member of Parliament to read. I have tried to handle those same problems in a more popular manner, in the hope of being of some service to old as well as to new members.

Not only, however, have I sought to assist agents and candidates, but the duties of returning officers, registration officers, and other vital cogs in the election machine, are exhaustively treated. One chapter is entirely devoted to the work of organising a constituency, which may be described as the sapping and mining before the grand assault of the election. Another chapter deals in a comprehensive way with corrupt and illegal practices, a subject that agents and candidates must thoroughly master if they would avoid the numerous pitfalls of the law, and an election petition.

In this connection I must disclaim any desire to depose from their rightful position of authority such well-known legal text books as Parker's "*Election Agent and Returning Officer.*" I have, in fact, studiously avoided legal language whenever possible, even when discussing the legal aspects of each successive operation in the election. For case law, definitions and decisions, reference must still be made to such recognised authorities, but all the important requirements of the law will be found to have received adequate mention in their appropriate chapters, and in a useful summary I have compiled under the title of "Little Things that Matter." The latter should form a valuable reminder of trifles that are apt to slip the memory in the rush of a campaign.

I venture to believe that the chapter on "Municipal and other Local Elections" will be widely welcomed by an important section of public officials not too generously catered for in the matter of literary guidance in their duties and responsibilities. Like several other chapters of a technical character in this work, it must be studied as a whole, for in order to secure concentration and avoid repetition I have been obliged, where certain provisions apply in more than one case, to refer the reader to other sections.

It may be pointed out that what is written in this book applies in the main equally to Ireland and Scotland as it does to England and Wales. At the end of the book are given the exceptions and the special adaptations.

Nothing has been written in detail regarding elections at Universities, as these rarely come within the scope of the ordinary election agents, candidate, or official. If there is any great demand for it, a chapter on the subject may be added in a subsequent edition. A useful summary of University elections taken from Terry on the Representation of the People Act, 1918 (Charles Knight & Co. Ltd. 12/6) will, however, be found in chapter 20.

A very complete index has been provided in the book, and it should always be referred to when seeking guidance on any point, in case it has received attention in more than one chapter. The index will be found to be one of the most useful features of the book.

In a sense there are two books within the covers of this volume; one largely technical in character, the other expounding a new conception of the art of electioneering. In the latter I have ventured to assume the role, not indeed of one proclaiming an entirely new evangel, but one who has synthetised into a concrete philosophy ideas and theories frequently hinted at by leading publicity experts in recent years. That philosophy I have applied to every phase of an election campaign.

I am convinced that the great changes brought about by the Representation of the People Act, 1918, necessarily involve changes equally great in the methods of election agents and candidates. Some will feel I have gone too far; others will cling tenaciously to the old methods until they are gradually left behind by a new generation of agents. A few will say I hold a purely materialist conception of election politics. I have no intention of apologising for my views.

There is, however, one assurance I will give. This is a practical book by a practical man. It is the result of nearly twenty years experience as election agent, lobbyist, and parliamentary secretary, and ten months solid concentration in writing it. The methods I advocate have stood me in good stead in the heat of many political battles, and I have been on the winning side in eighty per cent. of my election contests.

It would not have been possible for me to bring to a satisfactory conclusion a work covering so vast a field, which has never before been brought within the limits of a single volume, but for the valuable assistance I have received from various sources.

With grateful acknowledgments, therefore, I publicly express my thanks to :—

Sir Charles E. Longmore, K.C.B., President of the Law Society, Acting Returning Officer for the County of Hertfordshire, for the opportunity accorded me of closely observing his admirable methods of conducting an election count. It was the finest example of perfect organisation I have met with, and it is largely upon information gained in such circumstances that the chapter on "The Duties of the Returning Officer and his Staff" is written.

To eminent counsel who desires to remain anonymous, for his highly authoritative opinion on the chapter dealing with "Corrupt and Illegal Practices," and for passing the proofs of that chapter.

J. M. Hogge, Esq., M.P., the Chief Liberal Whip, and one of the greatest authorities on Rules and Procedure of the House of Commons, for his advice and guidance on the chapter on "Rules and Procedure of the House of Commons," and for his careful reading and revision of the proofs of the chapter.

Mr. Sydney C. Payne, Clerk to the Bushey Urban District Council, Acting Returning Officer for the district, and Registration Officer for the same area, for his advice on "Municipal and other Local Elections," and his careful reading and revision of the proofs.

Mr. Albert E. Nye, the well-known Conservative agent, for his able assistance and advice in connection with the chapter on "Organising a Constituency."

The Departmental Heads of my own election organisation, the only complete, mobile organisation of its kind in the country, for their careful reading of the chapters dealing with their respective departments. The approval of the men actually engaged in the operations dealt with lends added authority to those chapters.

HENRY J. HOUSTON.

May, 1922.

"Rostherne,"
Bushey, Herts.

NOTE.

Since the writing of the greater portion of this book was completed the powers and duties relating to registration of electors and the conduct of elections have been transferred by Order in Council, from the Minister of Health to the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, and any reference in this work to the "Local Government Board" or the "Ministry of Health" should now read "Home Office." The Secretary of State therefore has the following duties and powers assigned to him. (S.R. & O. 1921, No. 959 of the 27th May, 1921.)

To make Orders altering the boundaries of any electoral divisions of a county or of the number of county councillors and electoral divisions in a county.

To frame rules for the election of parish councillors.

To frame rules for the election of guardians.

To frame rules for the election of urban district councillors.

To frame rules for the election of rural district councillors.

To frame rules for the election of metropolitan borough councillors.

To make Orders for the alteration of the number of wards for a metropolitan borough, or of the boundaries of any ward, or of the apportionment of the members of the ward.

To make Orders with regard to the Registration Officer in cases where the registration area is not coterminous with or wholly contained in one administrative county or municipal borough.

To approve deputy of Registration Officer.

To give general or special directions with respect to arrangements made by Registration Officer for carrying out his duties as to registration.

To direct amount of contributions towards expenses of Registration Officer by the council of any county or borough other than the council whose clerk the Registration Officer is or by whom he is appointed.

To determine any question arising whether certain expenses incurred by the Registration Officer have been properly incurred.

To determine in certain cases questions relating to the compensation payable to existing officers.

To designate the Returning Officer in certain cases.

To approve appointment of deputy for Acting Returning Officer.

To alter, or direct alteration of, division of constituency into polling districts and appointment of polling places.

To make Orders for the removing of difficulties as to the preparation of the register or the holding of elections.

To render assistance required by Admiralty, Army Council, or Air Ministry, in conveying information to Registration Officer.

To make adaptations in the provisions of any Act, etc., for the purpose of making those provisions conform with the provisions of the Representation of the People Act, 1918.

To determine doubts as to the constituency in which any Parish is intended by the Schedule to be included.

All those duties assigned by the Minister of Health to the Registrar General shall in future be performed by the Registrar General under the control and direction of the Home Office.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER ONE.

THE NEW PHILOSOPHY OF ELECTIONEERING.

THERE is nothing quite so pathetically amusing to the young—in which category I include the young in spirit—as the spectacle of a grave and reverend seignior deploring the changing times.

Condemning the period in which one lives is an age-long pastime, and it is a form of snobbery for veterans of sluggish mentality that persists despite its obvious futility.

Time brings its changes whether we will or no, and probably nothing has more fundamentally changed in the last fifty years than our domestic politics. Hence it has provided a theme for the most mournful threnodies in the lamentations of our modern Jeremiahs.

Politics are supposed to have undergone a sad change for the worse. They are more sordid, more concerned with bread and butter, more dependent upon the whims of the million who must be cozened by flamboyant oratory or frightened by cheap histrionics into giving their votes. It is a matter of counting noses rather than weighing heads.

Altogether we are in a very bad way.

Perhaps the most dismal critics are the old-fashioned Members of Parliament and their crusted election agents. They find the modern election a trying ordeal from which they rarely emerge with credit, and it is not altogether unnatural if their hearts turn fondly to the "good old days" when electorates were smaller and more amenable to the influence of the squire and the parson.

What these estimable people fail to realise is that we have definitely arrived at the Age of Democracy for good or ill. No sane man imagines that the million can ever be disfranchised. It follows therefore that the problem of electioneering has undergone a tremendous change, the significance of which few as yet appear to have properly grasped.

Modern Electioneering Methods.

One of the main objects of this book is to expound a new philosophy of electioneering, in which a proper recognition is given to the changed circumstances. What I have written is not merely a manual for election agents but also a plea for more businesslike, picturesque, and up-to-date methods of conducting electoral contests.

I have little doubt that the Old School will condemn many of the ideas I have put forward. They will tell me that I am trying to degrade politics into a mere business.

Why it should be specially heinous to organise anything—even politics—on businesslike lines, will continue to remain a mystery to me. Nevertheless, many conservative minds undoubtedly so regard it. They will wag their heads solemnly over this book as they have been wagging their heads solemnly for the last quarter-of-a-century over the modern methods of the Press.

My answer to all such critics is a business man's answer. Experience proves that the newspaper proprietor who continues to conduct his paper on the old dull, stodgy, and " respectable " lines loses his money, and it equally proves that the agent who tries to fight his campaigns on the old-fashioned methods loses seats.

In by-election after by-election recently the Government has sustained overwhelming defeat, in spite of its immense resources of alleged organisation and unquestionable cash. Making every allowance for the normal "swing of the pendulum" against a Government long in power, the fact remains that in such elections as the two Wrekin contests, Dover, St. George's, and Hertford they were beaten, despite tradition, territorial influence, and local organisation solidly in their favour, by superior tactics.

Their own Press admitted it, and their workers made no secret of it either during or after the contests.

The old methods will do no longer. The party agent is losing elections to-day wherever he is met by an up-to-date opponent, for the simple reason that the old rule-of-thumb methods laid down in the party Agent's Manual were formulated when the character of electorates was entirely different from what it is to-day.

I am going to remind my staid and eminently proper fellow-agents that new factors are operating in election politics.

Effect of Franchise Reform.

Since the Reform Act of 1832 the electors of the United Kingdom have increased from 1,000,000 to 14,000,000, of whom 6,000,000 are women. Whereas then only one in every fifty of the population could exercise the franchise, now under the Representation of the People Act, 1918, one in every three of the population has the right to vote.

Such giant strides in our political evolution cannot be taken without a complete transformation of the problem of electioneering. A new type of elector has been admitted to the franchise in vast numbers, and the method of appeal that once did service now fails dismally.

The plain truth is—and I state it bluntly—far more brains are needed to win elections nowadays than was the case in the "good old days."

I am not going to claim that the British working man is a paragon either of intelligence or learning, but I do submit that in the main his "mother wit" and "horse sense" are thoroughly sound and they have to be satisfied before his vote can be secured.

It is true that after a day's hard work he will not listen to dull and long-winded speeches with the polite patience of the hind of the "good old days." That is probably the most convincing proof of his intelligence. But he can be reached by brighter and more picturesque methods.

Tell him, for instance, how politics affect his dinner table, and you have his interest at once. Appeal to his sense of humour, and he will laugh with you. Above all, he will face hard facts—especially economic facts—in a way that no politician will ever give him credit for.

I have always found, when I have been fighting an "advanced" opponent who makes reckless promises concerning the rewards he intends to secure for Labour by methods that would wreck Industry, that the genuine working man is ready to be convinced of the essential fraud of such promises if sound arguments are put before him. If politicians would only have faith in the sanity of the masses and not resort in a panic to an equally reckless out-bidding of the extremists, the industrial unrest of this country would be reduced to the minimum. So long as Governments regard the people as something to be fooled, so long will they themselves be fooled to the country's infinite harm.

Influence of the War.

Whatever else the war did, it undoubtedly made men think. The trenches were debating clubs where life was handled with the gloves off. Men's views on questions of the day were broadened, their sympathies were widened, and their interest in economics deepened.

The public man who presumes to address a popular audience to-day must come with some facts in his head and some solid arguments on his lips. He must deal in actualities and not in mere words and fine sounding phrases. Sonorous diction merely provides a field day for the heckler, who punctures the bubbles of humbug with shafts of "mother wit."

Then there are the women voters, forming on an average 40 per cent. of the electorate in every division. The old parrot cries leave these new voters cold.

You may talk to women electors about "this great Empire upon which the sun never sets" till you are blue in the face, but if your rival is telling them why the purchasing power of the £ has declined, why prices are high, and why their daily task as chancellors of the domestic exchequer is so much more difficult, you may depend upon it that you are wasting your breath and he is winning votes.

That does not mean that women are not patriots. On the contrary, they are intensely patriotic, but they are not going to be fobbed off with a lot of hot air about the Empire while they are perplexed by their own domestic problems.

Women are practical beings, and they demand practical politics.

As a result, the old style of election address, full of noise signifying nothing, is laughed to scorn by the average electorate to-day. My own view is that a new type of agent, with a new conception of his functions, is necessary to meet the new conditions that exist. He must be much less of a politician and much more of a publicity expert than his predecessor.

I have been amazed in a number of election contests recently to find the agents of my opponents working zealously on the old methods as though the whole duty of an election agent was to conform to certain prescriptive rules laid down for all time.

The Agent's Real Duty.

It may seem a revolutionary doctrine, but I am going to assume as an axiom throughout this book that the only real duty of an election agent is to get his man at the top of the poll by every legitimate means within his power, no matter what the " book of rules " may prescribe.

The sooner the agent ceases to delude himself with the idea that his concern is with politics—which is purely the concern of the candidate—and gets on with his job as the publicity and business manager of a political client, the better it will be for his candidate.

Elections to-day are mainly won by the printed word. For every voter who can be found to listen to a speech, a score can be attracted by a brightly written leaflet, a smart poster, or a clever newspaper article. Hence the task of the political agent is one for the expert who possesses a complete knowledge of all the arts of publicity.

One such expert, with half a dozen assistants who know their job, can win elections against a battalion of " earnest workers."

Winning elections is really a question of salesmanship, little different from marketing any branded article. There is no sentiment about either. The agent and salesman both have a proposition which it is their business to commend to their potential " customers." In the case of the agent the customers are the electorate.

The salesman studies his customers' tastes and places his proposition before them in the light which he decides will be most likely to attract them. The agent should study his electorate in a like manner and place his candidate and his candidate's policy before them in the way he thinks best calculated to win their votes.

With politics, *qua* politics, the agent has no concern. He should be a business man, handling a business proposition in a businessslike way by means of a well-organised machine under his control.

That is the theory upon which I have written this book. It is with the application of that theory that subsequent chapters deal, together with such legal guidance as will make this book a reliable and complete manual for the use of all concerned with elections. I have, of course, made no attempt to supplant the well-known legal text-books on election law. These must still be referred to when abstruse points arise.

What I do claim for my book is this: its teaching is practical. The methods it advocates have been "tried out"—with what result will be seen from my own record as an election campaigner.

CHAPTER TWO.

OPENING THE CAMPAIGN.

ELECTION campaigns, so far as the public is aware, open with the issue of an election address. With the agent who knows his business, this will have been preceded by the most important part of the whole contest.

I have likened the task of fighting an election to the modern commercial problem of salesmanship. Let me press the analogy home.

Salesmanship to-day is no longer a mere question of opening a shop or store and trusting that customers will present themselves. That is the old style of passive salesmanship. No big success could be built upon it.

Modern methods by contrast are entitled to be described as a science. Up-to-date salesmanship is agressive. It is a thing of imagination, conceived on bold scientific lines, sure of its purpose, accurate in its aim and, humanly speaking, certain of its success.

It embraces press publicity and persuasive literature packed with " reasons why," demonstrations that attract the public eye, transport plans, and personal canvassing by men who know their proposition " inside out."

In every particular the methods of modern salesmanship are applicable to modern electioneering. But what is most important about a sales campaign is the study given to the selling problem before a single attempt at a sale is made. It is here that election agents have most to learn.

No business man sets about marketing mufflers in the tropics or ice cream in Iceland, though both commodities are probably excellent business propositions in more suitable areas. Yet, I have seen many election agents endeavouring to " market " an Imperialist candidate and an Imperialist policy in a division wholly composed of electors preoccupied with labour and economic questions! And no one has suggested that the agent and his candidate should be removed to Bedlam for a lunatic waste of good money and doubtful oratory!

Scientific Campaigning.

The first step in a sales campaign is to see that the proposition is " right "—that it is soundly conceived, and that it either supplies a present want or creates a demand for itself by satisfying a necessity hitherto overlooked.

The second step is to study the psychology of those to whom the proposition is to be submitted, so that its selling points can be developed in the campaign in such a way as to make the strongest and widest appeal.

In an election the problem that confronts the agent is precisely the same.

He must first satisfy himself that his candidate is " right." If he has to handle a crank or an eccentric personality possessing unpopular, narrow views—in a word, if his proposition is wrong—his finest efforts are likely to fail. His task is equally difficult if the candidate, though right for some constituencies, is wrong for the one which has to be fought.

Experience proves that you cannot successfully " boost " a bad or unsuitable proposition.

On the other hand, if the candidate is right, his success at the poll depends entirely on the manner in which the campaign is handled. Many a good proposition has lost its market through unskilful salesmanship.

Here we come to the task of studying the psychology of the electorate, the men and women whom the agent hopes to influence, and it is a task worth all the skill an agent can give to it. On his correct analysis of the voters' interests and views will depend his entire plan of campaign.

He must analyse and tabulate his voters scientifically, spending if necessary many days touring the division in order to collect reliable data. Before he begins to plan his campaign he must know the occupations, the interests and, as far as possible, the political leanings of the electorate. He must have tabulated the number of manual workers, agricultural workers, farmers, ex-service men, co-operators, women voters, and all the other special organised interests in the division.

Preparing the Election Address.

With this information in his possession, the agent is on solid ground when he starts to do some hard thinking about the election address. To put out the election address before the whole division has been analysed and tabulated may enable him to get a day or so ahead of his rival, but it is an initial act of electioneering folly that may lead to irreparable mischief.

If this essential preliminary is ignored, a point of the candidate's policy may be stated in such a way as to antagonise a considerable body of voters who, were it presented from a different angle, might be won as supporters, or at least prevented from becoming actively hostile. Or a point, not vital to the contest, may be thoughtlessly introduced when it might well have been omitted altogether.

I am not suggesting that the candidate should say to his agent: "These are my views, but if you think we can't win on them they can be changed," but I do submit that it is the blindest folly to rush into print with an election address without having considered the people whom the candidate seeks to represent. It is a gratuitous presentation of scoring points to the opposition. Far better be tactful at the start than disingenuously explanatory after hostility has been aroused.

After all, an agent's job is to win the election, and he has a right to expect to start without the handicap of an ill-considered document meeting him at every turn. For this reason I claim the right of the agent to have a very considerable "say" in the preparation of the election address.

Remember that the election address is the "brief" upon which you have to fight the entire campaign. You cannot run away from it in the middle of the contest. In it you nail your colours to the mast, and by it alone the silent voter will judge you. If it contains one unfortunate phrase, your opponent will see that you are not allowed to forget it.

Examining the Battleground.

My own plan is to spend two or three whole days in my prospective battleground immediately I know that a contest in which I shall be engaged is imminent. At the end of those days I know what I am up against.

Then I hold a conference with my candidate and settle with him the broad lines of his policy, and I make no secret of the fact that in doing so I keep two eyes on the people whose support I want. Not everyone can be placated, of course, but there is no need gratuitously to antagonise anyone.

The policy settled, I prepare the election address and submit it to the candidate for his approval, and eliminate anything to which he cannot conscientiously subscribe. Then comes the business of getting it into print, and this deserves more thought than it usually receives.

It must be remembered that the day has gone by when the electors can be induced to read a long, dull-looking screed in small type simply because it is an election address. The modern newspaper has accustomed the public to bright, snappy reading, lightened with catchy headlines in attractive type. If the agent wants his address to be read he must be equally bright. Printing is expensive, and filling people's waste-paper baskets is a hobby that creates embarrassments when you come to prepare the statutory return of election expenses.

A good motto is : " Cut it Short." Cut out all the old party hack business and the stock phrases. They are a waste of good paper and ink. Cut out the ponderous high-brow stuff. It bores people to tears. And cut out personal attacks on your opponent. They lose more elections than anything else.

Tell the electors in plain homely language what your candidate's policy is, and see that that policy bears on the actual facts of workaday life. Never mind about the Treaty of Sevres. It is very important, no doubt, but 75 per cent. of the electors have never heard of it. What they do understand—especially the women—is the purchasing power of the £ and the problem of unemployment. Tell them how your policy will affect those.

Except in rare instances, steer clear of local politics in the address. It may appear advantageous to exploit some local issue, but it rarely is.

In the Dover by-election, December, 1920—January, 1921, it was possible during the campaign to refer with good effect to some glaring instances of local municipal waste. Such opportunities are not common, and before they are exploited there should be a very careful investigation of *all* the facts.

Printing the Address.

With regard to the printing of the address, the agent, if he is not an expert in preparing matter for press, should secure the assistance of a local journalist who is willing to sub-edit it, insert side-headings to render it more pleasing to the eye, and advise as to the best lay-out and type. Remember that pica wins the sympathy of the eye more readily than minion.

A good half-tone block, about 120 screen, from an up-to-date portrait of the candidate should adorn the left-hand top corner of the address, and a facsimile signature block should be used at the end. If desired, imitation typewriting type and purple ink can be used. These things lend personality to printed matter and often decide whether it shall be read or consigned to the waste-paper basket.

Once it is printed, it becomes your address to the jury, and all the subsequent speeches and literature of your candidate should simply be elaborations and developments of its theme. If proper thought and care has been given to its preparation, you may do so with safety.

With the election address out of hand the agent must now give his mind to the general plan of campaign, and prepare instructions for his subordinate officers. He knows the types of people he has to reach, and it should not take him long to decide as to the best method of reaching them.

He will want open-air speakers of a suitable type for the electors who will not in any circumstances sit two hours or more in a hall. He will want literature of a type that will appeal to others not reached by meetings of any kind. And he will want " big " speakers for those only attracted by well-known names. Above all, he will want a poster and local press campaign.

All these matters will be dealt with by his officers, but the agent must fill the role of commander-in-chief and, with the knowledge he has obtained of the constituency, lay down the broad outlines of the campaign. In some contests he will allocate more money to the hoardings than he will in others. It will depend on local conditions, of which he must be the judge.

Once he has decided, the subordinate officers must carry out the decisions with fidelity and promptness. Their duties will be fully dealt with under the various heads of the " Agent's G.H.Q. Staff."

CHAPTER THREE.

WHAT THE NEW FRANCHISE ACT DOES.

THE Representation of the People Act, 1918, has already exercised and must continue to exercise such a vital influence on electioneering methods that it is important for agents to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with its provisions.

This great step forward in the march of democracy not only reforms the franchise; it creates a new basis for the re-distribution of seats, reforms the system of registration of voters, the method of elections, and their cost. It enlarges the parliamentary and local government franchise. It extends the vote to women, eliminates the ownership vote and the lodger's vote, while the plural voter disappears except for the man who is entitled to exercise two votes by virtue of his occupation of land.

Further, this Act revises the cost of elections because under its provisions the State now pays the Returning Officer's fees, subject only to a deposit of £150 by every candidate nominated, and forfeited by him if he fails to secure one-eighth of the total number of votes polled. The object of this provision is to eliminate what is called the freak candidate.

The registration changes effected by the new Act are briefly as follows:—

(*a*) The qualifying period for registration as a parliamentary elector has been reduced to six months.

(*b*) Registers must be revised every six months.

(*c*) The qualifying period is now the six months prior to January 15 and July 15 in each year.

(*d*) The time for the preparation and coming into force of the Register has been shortened.

Those qualified under the new Act to be registered as voters in any parliamentary election are:—

(*a*) Every male person of full age not subject to any legal incapacity who for the qualifying period, *i.e.*, from January 16 to July 15, or from July 16 to January 15, has resided in any premises or who has occupied for the purpose of his business, profession, or trade any premises of a clear yearly value of not less than £10.

(*b*) Women who have reached the age of thirty years.

Women are also entitled to be registered as local government electors either in respect of their own occupation of a dwelling house, or of land or premises of a yearly value of not less than £5, or, being not less than thirty years of age they are married to a man so entitled in respect of premises at which they both reside.

Absent Voters.

The new Act further makes provision for the registration as voters of persons absent from the division by reason of (1) war service afloat, abroad, or at home; (2) service in the mercantile marine; (3) occupation as pilots, mariners, or fishermen.

The difficulties which have confronted the registration authorities in dealing with absent voters have been overcome by the creation of what is known as the Absent Voters' List.

It may be noted that every fighting man and those who earn their living at sea are automatically placed on this list. It is the bounden duty of every officer commanding and every master of a vessel to see that the men under his command are so registered.

For the first time in English history the privilege of voting by proxy is granted to those serving afloat or abroad. Any voter, whether on the ordinary register or the Absent Voters' List, may appoint a proxy if he is so away from home.

Another important change effected by the new Act is the disappearance of the pauper disqualification.

Until the 1918 Act a man who, possibly through no fault of his own, was compelled to accept a loaf of bread a week from the Poor Law Authorities, or public relief in any form, was thereby disqualified as a parliamentary voter.

The removal of this harsh provision from the Statute Book is a big breach with the bad old past and it indicates the changed social atmosphere in which we now live. The acceptance of Poor Law relief to any extent no longer disqualifies a voter from exercising the franchise.

What *does* disqualify a voter is quite definitely laid down. Aliens, conscientious objectors, peers, inmates of workhouses, asylums, or prisons (staff excepted) traitors, felons, persons convicted of corrupt practices, persons not of " full age," or subject to any legal incapacity cannot be registered or vote.

Finally, the new Act provides that at a General Election all polls shall be taken on the same day.

CHAPTER FOUR.

NOMINATIONS—BEFORE AND AFTER.

ONE of the earliest things demanding the attention of the agent is the preparation of the candidate's nomination papers.

This has generally been regarded as a bothersome legal formality to be got over as expeditiously as possible. In accordance with my policy of hitting my opponent all the time, I always regard nomination day as a good opportunity for a demonstration of strength and a very important preliminary in the campaign.

The requirements of the law are satisfied by one nomination form, on which the candidate must be proposed by a duly qualified elector, seconded by another, and his candidature assented to by not less than eight others.

For the tactical reason already suggested, I advise at least four nomination forms from each polling district in the division, however numerous they may be, two forms being signed by men and two by women.

In addition the agent should, wherever possible, have special nomination forms signed by representatives of the various organised interests of the division, such as ex-service men, ratepayers' associations, farmers, co-operators, clergy, publicans, etc.

The object of this is to create in the public mind, at the earliest possible moment, the conviction that your candidate is firmly entrenched in his support throughout the division.

The number of nomination forms handed in and the status of the signatories, together with the names of those prominent in public life and local organisations, should be communicated without fail to the Press. It is an established fact that this has a considerable psychological effect upon those wavering individuals who have a prediliction for being on the winning side.

The preparation of such a large number of nomination forms involves a considerable amount of work at a very busy period of the campaign, but it will be well worth every moment spent upon it.

The forms should always be kept in stock by the agent, and if he is stationary in the division he should keep the top half of the forms filled in with the name, residence, and rank, title, or description of his candidate.

It is not essential that the official form should be used, but it is desirable that the first form handed in should be one supplied by the Returning Officer. In any event, the form as prescribed in the Ballot Act should be adhered to. This form can be obtained from Messrs. Charles Knight & Co., Ltd.

When the top halves of the forms are filled in the agent should dispatch four copies to each of his committee rooms, carefully instructing the clerk in charge as to the method of obtaining signatures for the completion of the forms.

How to obtain Nominations.

The following instructions to committee room clerks have been found to assist in avoiding errors in this important task.

> One of the first and probably one of the most important things you have to do is to get nomination papers filled in and return to me not later than 5.0 p.m. on the   day of

Forms have been supplied to you and two of these should be filled in by *men* electors and two by women. You should also obtain at least one filled in entirely by farmers, one by publicans and their wives, another by ex-service men, and others by any organised body of electors, trades or classes in your district, such as ratepayers' association, municipal employees, etc. etc. In filling up the nomination papers the following instructions should be strictly adhered to. On each form there must appear a proposer and a seconder whose full names and address must be given at A and B respectively, and their signatures at C and D respectively, as they appear on the register, that is to say, a man or woman should sign his or her name and address as per the electors' register, even if such entry is wrong in some particular. Then must follow at least eight names and addresses of assentors, the first assentor signing the paper at E. It is preferable, if time permit, to obtain ten assentors so that if any are wrong they can be crossed out and still leave it with eight assentors presentable to the Returning Officer. The persons who can sign a nomination paper are those whose names appear on the Parliamentary Register which has been supplied to you. It is desirable that such form should not be signed by an alien—even although his name appears on the register. As the papers are completed, please send them to me. Before doing so, however, write in pencil on the left-hand side of each entry, the register number of all signatories against their respective signatures. A specimen entry on a nomination paper is given below.

Y. 621 William Smith, of the Laurels, King St., Wellington.

The filling in of nomination papers is one of your earliest and most important duties. I expect you to send me at least six completed papers so that the final paper reaches me not later than the time mentioned above. Whatever happens nothing must prevent you from letting me have on foolscap paper the list of the names and addresses of those who have signed the papers so that our candidate may send out a personal letter of thanks to them for their support.

Checking the Papers.

When the nomination forms are received back from the various committee rooms, they must be checked. This is so important that it must be done personally by the agent, whatever else he delegate to others. Furthermore, once they are checked he must never let them pass out of his possession, but keep them carefully guarded under lock and key until he can hand them over to the Returning Officer.

In checking the forms the agent must satisfy himself beyond question that every signatory is a duly qualified elector on the current register.

There have been elections in which, owing to the lack of personal attention to this matter on the part of the agent, the Returning Officer has refused to accept the nomination paper tendered, and the candidate has had the chagrin of seeing his opponent have a " walk over."

The Act requires that the signatures shall be the ordinary or usual signatures, and the addresses the correct addresses of those signing the forms, but if these differ from the details given in the register the words should be added " On the register as so-and-so "—giving the details as they appear on the current register.

Thus, if William John Smith is on the register as "William Smith," he should add after his ordinary or usual signature the words: "On the register as William Smith." He must be identified with the name on the register.

It may be pointed out that an alien, even though on the register, cannot nominate, and should an alien be among the signatories I should question the validity of the paper.

The agent should spare no effort to assure himself that at least the first half-dozen of his nomination papers are absolutely free from any questions as to identity, signatures, or addresses. It will assist the Returning Officer if the agent, when checking the signatures, adds in pencil beside them the registered numbers of the signatories.

It is usual to arrive at an agreement with the "other side" as to the number of nomination forms to be published, and often the Returning Officer is glad of the papers two or three days in advance so that he can O.K. them and pass them on to the printer in time to enable him to comply with the Act requiring the publication by means of posters of the names and addresses of the nominators and assentors immediately after nomination.

On Nomination Day.

On nomination day it is usual for the agent to accompany his candidate to the Returning Officer's office for the purpose of handing in the forms and depositing the £150. This latter, it must be remembered, must be in the form of ready cash, unless the Returning Officer has previously agreed to accept some other form of security. Many nominations have proved fiascos owing to agents arriving with a cheque, which the Returning Officer has refused to accept, and there has been insufficient time left in which to obtain the ready money.

The only persons who may attend nominations are the candidates, their proposers and seconders, and " one other person " for each candidate. The " one other person " is invariably the agent.

All that usually happens is that the candidates formally tender the forms and the money, and the Returning Officer hands over a receipt for the money. Unless strong personal feelings have already been aroused it is the happy tradition of British politics for the rival candidates and agents to exchange handshakes on this occasion.

In order to avoid a useless wait of two hours at the office of the Returning Officer, it is customary for agents and candidates to agree mutually not to raise technical objections concerning the validity of each other's nomination papers.

Nevertheless, it is open to " some other person," having the right to vote at the election, to object to the nomination of any person before the expiration of the " appointed time " or within one hour afterwards.

The main grounds upon which such objection may be taken are :—

(1) That the description on the nomination form is not sufficient to identify the candidate.

(2) That the candidate is an alien,

(3) That he or she is not 21 years of age.

(4) That he is a Clerk in Holy Orders.

(5) That he or she holds a disqualifying office.

(6) That he or she is a contractor for the public service.

(7) That he or she has been convicted for felony or corrupt practices, or

(8) That he is an undischarged bankrupt.

(9) That he is a Peer of the Realm.

After Nominations.

If all these snags are avoided, the formalities should be brief. Immediately they are concluded the agent should issue a poster, previously prepared, stating that his candidate has been duly nominated, giving the number of forms handed in and the number of electors signing. It is a good idea to exhibit a number of these posters by means of sandwichmen within a few minutes of the close of nominations.

Further, the agent should have in readiness for immediate posting, letters to every signatory thanking them for their confidence and urging them to become missionaries for the success of the candidate they have supported.

The following letter is suggested. It should be in imitation typewriter type if possible. The candidate should sign the letters personally, if time permit, but bearing in mind that anything up to a thousand signatories might be obtained, it is advisable to have a facsimile signature stamp available.

> DEAR SIR (OR MADAM),
>
> I take this early opportunity of thanking you for your support by subscribing to one of my nomination papers. No less than   of your fellow electors also signed.
>
> The purely legal and preliminary formalities of the election now being over, I want to urge you to continue your active and whole-hearted support of my cause. Work for me in whatever way you can, by canvassing, by assisting at the committee rooms, and by interesting your friends and neighbours in the contest.
>
> If you and your fellow nominators will make it your duty to induce at least   other electors to go to the poll for me on   day, the   inst., then indeed you will be happy in the knowledge that you played an important part in the victory.
>
> Yours very truly,
> (Signed   (Candidate).

The Absent Candidate.—It sometimes happens that a candidate is nominated during his absence for any reason. He may be abroad, ill, or, as in a case of one of my opponents, in prison and on hunger strike. A candidate's presence or his consent is not required for nomination. The deposit of £150 can be made by any person. The appointment of agent in such a case should be signed by the proposer of the absent candidate. A candidate nominated without his consent and who does not afterwards give his consent is not liable for the expenses.

In regard to the Return of Election Expenses in the case of a candidate absent from the United Kingdom, he need not make a declaration until within 14 days of his return, but if he is nominated without his consent and took no part in the election he need not make the declaration. The agent, however, must forward *his* return and declaration within the Statutory period. The form of declaration by the candidate as to expenses, when absent, and taking no part in the election is as follows :—

> I,   , having been nominated (or having been declared by others) in my absence (to be) a candidate at the election for the county or borough or division of   held on the   day of   , do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare that I have taken no part whatever in the said election ;
>
> And I further solemnly and sincerely declare that (or with the exception of   ) I have not, and no person, club, society, or association at my expense has made any payment or given, promised or offered, any reward, office, employment, or valuable consideration, or incurred any liability on account of or in respect of the conduct or management of the said election ;

And I further solemnly and sincerely declare that (or with the exception of) I have not paid any money or given any security or equivalent for money to the person acting as my election agent at the said election, or to any other person, club, society, or association on account of or in respect of the conduct or management of the said election, and that (or with the exception of) I am entirely ignorant of any money, security or equivalent for money having been paid, advanced, given, or deposited by any one for the purpose of defraying any expenses incurred on account of or in respect of the conduct or management of the said election;

And I further solemnly and sincerely declare that I will not, except so far as I may be permitted by law, at any time make or be party to the making or giving of any payment, reward, office, employment, or valuable consideration for the purpose of defraying any such expenses as last mentioned, or provide or be party to the providing of any money, security, or equivalent of money for the purpose of defraying any such expenses.

Signature of declarant

Signed and declared by the above-named declarant on the day of before me.

(Signed)
Justice of the Peace for

CHAPTER FIVE.

THE FINANCE OF ELECTIONS.

THE financial side of an election provides both agent and candidate with many of their most difficult problems.

These arise not merely from the fact that the law, in an entirely praiseworthy effort to prevent Parliament becoming accessible only to the wealthy, has strictly limited election expenditure : they arise even more from the fact that, in seeking to prevent any recurrence of the corruption that once disgraced the parliamentary elections of this country, the law controls the permitted expenditure in a bewildering number of ways.

With these regulations the candidate and agent—particularly the latter—must make themselves thoroughly familiar, for one false step may not only invalidate an election, but disfranchise and disqualify both agent and candidate either in perpetuity or for a period of years.

Before the passing of the 1918 Act, the amount that could be spent at any election was laid down in a scale graduated according to the number of electors. If an electorate did not exceed 2,000, for instance, one was entitled to spend £650 in a county division and £350 in a borough. In a constituency of 26,000 the amount was £2,090 for a county, and £1,070 in the case of a borough.

That rough and ready system has been replaced, under the 1918 Act, by a scheme which limits the election expenditure of a candidate—excluding his personal expenses and the statutory fee to the agent—to a sum equal to 7d. for every elector on the register in a county division and 5d. for every elector in a borough division.

In the case of a "double-barrelled" division, i.e., a division represented by two members, the maximum expenditure for each candidate is the sum equal to a single candidate's maximum multiplied by one-and-a-half and the result divided by two. There is a special scale for University elections, all fully set out in "Parker" (Charles Knight & Co., Ltd.).

Effect of Money Fluctuations.

While I am heartily in favour of the limitation of election expenditure, I take this opportunity of pointing out that when the provisions of the 1918 Act were discussed and settled by the Speaker's Conference the purchasing power of the £ was practically at the normal, and the amounts fixed were decided on what was almost a pre-war basis of money values.

Not a few of the agent's difficulties since have arisen from this fact. Wages, printing, paper, and hotel expenses have all increased considerably. To take only one item of election expenditure, envelopes that before the war could be bought at from 2/3 to 3/- per 1,000 have since soared as high as 12/6, but are now coming down in price.

The Postmaster-General has added to the agent's difficulties by decreasing the amount of printed matter which can be sent for ½d., and the agent has to carefully select envelopes and printing paper if he desires to get his Address and Poll Card in an envelope and still keep within the one ounce. The one free postage which the State has granted to every candidate is of course of great benefit to candidates, for whatever be their financial station they are certain of being able to communicate at least once with every elector.

These facts must be taken into consideration by the candidate when he is considering the amount he is prepared to place at the disposal of the agent for the conduct of the campaign. If the agent is to have a fair chance of winning, the amount should approximate as nearly as possible to the legal maximum.

There are certain sums, over and above this maximum, which may be legally expended. The candidate, for instance, is permitted to incur personal expenses not exceeding £100 without the necessity of vouching for it. If this sum is exceeded, the excess must be paid by the agent and returned by him in the space provided on the statutory return of expenses. What are "reasonable" personal expenses is discussed in detail in "Parker."

Then there is the fee paid by the candidate to the agent. This in the case of a borough is limited to £50, and to £75 in the case of a county division. An additional sum may be paid to the agent as part of the statutory expenses provided they do not thereby exceed the authorised maximum amount.

An Essential Preliminary.

When the candidate, after a frank discussion with his agent, has decided on the amount he is prepared to spend on the campaign, the entire sum should at once be lodged at a local bank to the credit of the agent, and marked "Election Account." Every payment should be made through this account.

There is one important aspect of election expenditure that must here be considered. At what precise moment does expenditure become expenditure in connection with an election, and, therefore, to be included in the statutory return ?

The Act is most indefinite on the point, but it has been laid down that this takes place when any person is nominated as a candidate or is declared by himself or others acting for him to be a candidate on or after the day of the issue of the writ.

The Act says that " any expense incurred for promoting or procuring an election may be an expense incurred on account of or in respect of the conduct or management of an election," and, therefore, all such expenditure if paid by the candidate must be returned on the statutory form after the election has taken place.

For this reason it will be wise for the agent to describe his candidate as the *prospective* candidate until such time as he has definitely announced his intention to stand, or has been adopted as *candidate* by an association or election committee.

I know of a certain candidate who within a week of being defeated declared that he would contest the seat next time. That is a declaration of candidature, and it is questionable whether all expenditure between that date and the next election, incurred by him for the purpose of promoting his candidature in any way, should not be returned as part of his election expenses when the next election takes place.

As a matter of fact, in the Bodmin election petition, 1906, the judge held that it was advisable to treat any attendant expenses as part of the election expenses, and that in any doubtful case the safest rule was to include them.

It will be seen, therefore, that premature declaration of actual candidature is to be avoided. It is quite safe to announce anyone as the *prospective* candidate during the " nursing " period, but any announcement made " in, about, or around the issue of the writ " that he will fight the seat will mean that any expenses incurred through the holding of any meeting, or the publication of any notices or posters " used or intended to further the candidature of a person selected to stand for Parliament" must be included in the return of expenses.

There is nothing, however, to prevent the prospective candidate attending a meeting organised by a political association, provided that no vote of confidence in the candidate is taken and the audience are not asked to pledge themselves to support him.

Candidate's Personal Expenses.

The candidate's personal expenses are defined as including the reasonable travelling expenses and the reasonable expenses of living at a hotel or elsewhere for the purposes of the election. He must be careful not to pay anything that should properly be a legal expense paid by the agent. If his personal expenses exceed £100, such excess must be paid by the agent and vouched for, though it is not taken into account as part of the prescribed legal expenses of the election.

Within fourteen days of the declaration of the poll, the candidate must deliver to his agent a written statement of the personal expenses incurred by him during the election. To prevent this being overlooked the following letter should be sent by the agent to the candidate for his signature:—

> "To the best of my knowledge and belief the personal expenses of my candidature, paid by myself during the course of the election, amount to £ ."—(Signed)

It is always advisable, though done but seldom, for this statement to be attached to the return of election expenses.

In the matter of personal expenditure, it is not the intention of the Act to restrict the ordinary social hospitality of the candidate providing it has not the object of securing the support of electors at the poll, but the candidate—especially if he is naturally generous and hospitable—must be seriously warned against any good-natured act that suspicious opponents might regard as bribery and corruption. It is better for the candidate to walk about with his pockets empty than to run any risks of this kind.

With regard to the ordinary expenses of the election, the law is quite definite. It provides that no sum shall be disbursed and no expense incurred by the candidate or his agent, whether before, during, or after an election, in excess of the maximum amount allowed under the Act, *i.e.*, 7d. or 5d. per head of the electorate.

To exceed that amount is an illegal practice, and if the offence is proved an election judge will declare the election null and void.

Excess Expenditure.

There are, however, vaguely defined cases in which relief may be given to a candidate who has exceeded the maximum, if the candidate can show that the excess has arisen from inadvertence, accidental miscalculation, or some reasonable cause of a like nature and not from want of any good faith.

In a case, for instance, where it proves necessary to undertake legal expense for the purpose of defending the personal honour of a candidate against allegations made during the election, such expense, I am advised, need not be included in the statutory return of expenses. If it is considered desirable to include it, and the maximum legal sum is thereby exceeded, it is probable that the High Court would grant relief to the candidate.

Such a position arose in a recent by-election, when I acted as agent, and I deliberately refrained from including in my return the legal expenses incurred. As this omission was not challenged I was deprived of a definite legal ruling, but I am satisfied that my course was a perfectly proper one to take.

Now as to the best method of controlling and supervising the normal election expenditure. For the agent who intends to conduct a really live campaign, the financial problem is an anxious one, forbidding the waste of a single penny. Here, again, his success depends upon a thoroughly businesslike treatment of the task.

As soon as he knows the amount he has to spend he should prepare a budget, allocating a definite percentage of the money to each department of his operations. The percentages will depend upon the relative importance he attaches to the various methods of electioneering.

It will be no surprise to those who have read the previous chapters to learn that I attach chief importance to printing, advertising, and billposting. Constituencies have become so large that very few agents can hope to reach every elector by means of effective personal canvass. The agent must rely to a greater extent than ever before on the printed word which, if wisely used, is a most potent vote-winner. It is better to put money into leaflets and on the hoardings than to spend it in salaries of clerks engaged on elaborate recording systems. Elections are won by influencing voters and not by compiling statistics.

In preparing his budget, the agent must provide a reserve for emergencies, which arise fairly frequently. If his intelligence department is up-to-date he will know whether to expect a personal attack upon his candidate, but many other contingencies occur that suddenly make it desirable to issue a new poster after all the money for this section has been absorbed, or to circularise the electorate by post at the eleventh hour. The agent can face these emergencies calmly if he has budgeted for them. If he has not, he may be obliged to permit some wilful perversion of his candidate's policy to pass unanswered through fear of exceeding the legal expenditure.

A Specimen Election Budget.

It will make perfectly clear the system I suggest if I print here a specimen election budget for both county and borough divisions, each of an electorate of 32,000, and based on the assumption that the agent has been authorised to disburse the maximum legal sum.

The percentages given are based upon an extended practical experience of the working of the 1918 Act, and they may be relied upon as a safe guide (see also page 44).

ANALYSIS AND ALLOTMENT OF EXPENDITURE.

	Counties				Boroughs.			
	Percentage.	Amount.			Percentage.	Amount.		
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Sub-Agents (Counties only)	1	9	6	8	—		nil	
Polling Agents	2	18	13	4	1	6	13	4
Clerks	8	74	13	4	7	46	13	4
Messengers	3	28	0	0	2	13	6	8
Printing	22	205	6	9	25	166	13	4
Stationery	3	28	0	0	3	20	0	0
Advertising and Billposting	20	186	13	3	25	166	13	4
Postages (excluding one free)	5	46	13	4	8	53	6	8
Telegrams and Telephones	1	9	6	8	1	6	13	4
Meetings	7	65	6	8	7	46	13	4
Committee Rooms	7	65	6	8	5	33	6	8
*Miscellaneous	15	140	0	0	10	66	13	4
Emergencies	6	56	0	0	6	40	0	0
32,000 electors at 7d. =		£933	6	8	at 5d.	£666	3	41

* This item must never exceed £200.

Having prepared his budget, the agent should advise his sectional officers of the amounts allocated to their departments, warning them to keep a proportion in hand for emergencies as a further protection to the general emergency fund. Once he has rationed them he must be deaf to all appeals for extra money except for absolutely vital reasons, and even then only when he can effect a corresponding economy in another department.

Every sectional officer will think that his own department is being most unwisely "skimped" for money. Probably he is right, but it is better to risk even the loss of the seat at the poll than its loss on petition through expenditure beyond the legal maximum.

Check on Daily Expenditure.

A copy of the budget should be supplied to the cashier, who must be instructed to advise the agent daily of the expenditure of each department. The best method of exercising this important daily control of finance is explained in the chapter dealing with the cashier's duties. It not only enables the agent to keep a day-to-day grip over expenditure, but gives him an opportunity, if found necessary, of diverting money from any section which for purely local reasons is less active than normally to another section in which it can be usefully employed.

If the cashier carries out his instructions properly, he should be in a position, immediately after the declaration of the poll, to hand over to the agent a complete list of election expenses from which, subject to the expiration of the fourteen days for claims, the agent can prepare his statutory return for transmission to the Returning Officer. There is no benefit to be derived from holding this back for the full legal period. The agent's policy should be to get rid of it at the earliest possible moment.

To enable him to do so he should, as soon as convenient after the poll, advertise to the following effect :—

> " I, A— B—, the duly appointed agent to C— D—, hereby give notice that all claims against the said C— D— arising out of the election must be made in writing to me within fourteen days of the declaration of the poll."

It is legally sufficient to post this notice on the door of the central committee rooms, but if the money can be spared it should also be inserted in all the local papers. The usual space to occupy for the purpose is three inches single column.

All claims received after the expiration of the fourteen days are statute barred and must not be paid.

The Nomination Deposit.

So far, I have said nothing about the appearance in the budget of the £150 lodged with the Returning Officer on nomination day. I have preferred to assume that the candidate is either winning or is sufficiently sure of his ground to escape the forfeit of the deposit by securing at least one-eighth of the total votes polled.

Nevertheless, the contrary is a possibility to be reckoned with, and in the event of the £150 being forfeited it must appear in the statutory return of election expenses under the heading :—" Paid to the Returning Officer by way of forfeit due to the Treasury under Treasury Regulations R.G.6, dated December 30th, 1918."

The safest plan is to budget for this possibility in the allocation for emergencies, if there is the slightest doubt of forfeit.

The preparation of the return of expenses is the final job which the agent is bound under the statute to perform for his candidate, and it should be ready immediately after the expiration of the fourteen days, at which time sub-agents and other authorised persons who have incurred expenditure by way of petty cash must have their statements and vouchers ready.

The twenty-ninth day after the declaration is the last day on which the agent may pay election accounts. Anything unpaid after that day must be entered at the bottom of the return in the place provided for that purpose.

The thirty-sixth day after declaration is the last day on which the agent may transmit to the Returning Officer the expenses return and his declaration as to their accuracy. Nowadays it is usual for the agent and candidate to swear their declarations at the same time. Only on rare occasions have I seen advantage taken of the provision giving the candidate an extra seven days in which to transmit his declaration.

The form of return is probably too well known to need reproduction here. I find that the one prepared by Messrs. Charles Knight & Co. the best to be had.

Preparing the Return.

A word or two about the preparation of the return may be welcome. It contains two sections for the personal expenses of the candidate: (1) those paid by himself, and (2) those paid by his agent. The law governing the first has already been dealt with; the second usually contains such items as hotel bills, motor cars, and on rare occasions the reasonable expenses of speakers.

Every effort should be made to keep the total of both sections within the £100 limit. If at all possible, the candidate's personal expenses should be vouched for in the ordinary way.

It should be the aim of the agent to see that two schedules on the return, *i.e.*, (K) unpaid accounts, and (L) disputed claims, have the word " Nil " written across them.

The front sheet should contain a list of the people who have subscribed to the election and the amounts subscribed, and the sum total should agree with the inside sheets after deducting the personal expenses of the candidate paid by himself, and the agent's fee.

Vouchers for all payments over £2 must accompany the return, and every such voucher must be signed over a receipt stamp.

The return completed, it should at once be dispatched with the accompanying vouchers, to a fully qualified accountant for auditing purposes, who should give a certificate on the following lines :—

> " I have examined the Account of the Expenditure of A— B—, the Election Agent to C— D—, amounting to £ , with the vouchers, and certify the account to be correct in accordance therewith."

Signed —

(Chartered or Incorporated Accountant).

The fee for auditing need not be charged as an item of election expenditure incurred after the declaration, but my own practice—I think a wise one—is to so include it under the heading of " Miscellaneous."

On receipt of the auditor's certificate, the declarations should be sworn, having previously made two copies, one for the agent to retain and one for the candidate. The return should preferably be lodged in person, and a receipt for it obtained from the Returning Officer.

CHAPTER SIX.

THE AGENT'S COMPLETE TIME-TABLE.

THE agent who desires to avoid a series of "last minute hustles" and anxieties throughout the election will prepare early in the campaign a complete time-table of the legal formalities and other essentials that must receive attention at stated times during the progress of the contest, from the issue of the writ to the swearing of the expenses declaration.

Frequently the first intimation he receives that a by-election is in prospect is the news that a Member of Parliament has died, accepted a peerage, applied for the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, accepted an office of profit under the Crown within the meaning of the Re-election of Ministers' Act, 1919, been adjudged a bankrupt, or committed for felony or corrupt practices, or any other offence where a sentence of not less than twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour is imposed.

With regard to the latter disqualification, it may be recalled that Colonel Malone, M.P. for Leyton, though sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the second division in 1920 for seditious speech, did not thereby vacate his seat, though his name was removed from the register of the Order of the British Empire by the King.

Issue of the Writ.

The second intimation of an approaching election is a motion in the House of Commons for the issue of a writ, usually moved for by the Whip of the party to which the late member belonged.

During recess, seven days' notice is given in the "London Gazette" of the Speaker's intention to issue a writ for the vacancy.

The Returning Officer, on receipt of the writ, is bound to observe the following time-table :—

> *In the case of a by-election, the Act provides that the poll shall take place on such day as the Returning Officer may appoint, being not less than four and not more than eight clear days after the day fixed for nominations.*

In these days it is advisable, if the absent voters are to be reached in distant countries, for the agent to plead with the Returning Officer to concede the maximum interval between nominations and polling. The agent should also endeavour to secure that polling day shall be on (1) Saturday, in order to give the workers a better chance to vote, or (2) early closing day, so as to meet the natural prejudices of local tradesmen.

At a general election, all polls must now be held on the same day, the day appointed being in all cases the ninth day after "the day fixed for elections," *i.e.*, nomination day. (It may be explained that from a legal point of view, the election day is nomination day, and this, of course, would actually become election day if only one candidate were nominated.)

In a by-election the preliminary time-table would work out as in the following :—

June	1.	Receipt of writ and first possible day for notice of election by the Returning Officer in any by-election.
,,	2.	Last possible day for notice in case of a borough.
,,	3.	Last possible day for notice of election in county or district borough.
,,	4.	First possible day for nomination in case of a borough.
,,	5.	First possible day for nomination in county or district borough.
,,	8.	Last possible day for nomination in a borough.
,,	11.	Last possible day for nomination in county or district borough.

June 12. First possible day for polling in a borough.
,, 13. First possible day for polling in county or district borough.
,, 18. Last possible day for polling in a borough.
,, 22. Last possible day for polling in county or district borough.

Sundays, public fast days or thanksgivings, Christmas Day, and Good Fridays are *dies non.*

Agent's First Tasks.

As soon as the agent becomes aware, through whatever means, that an election in which he will be concerned is in prospect, he should, without waiting for the issue of the writ, at once proceed with the following important tasks :—

(1) Preparation of nomination forms.
(2) Preparation of election address.
(3) Preparation of three sets of envelopes addressed to every elector on the current register.

The method of procedure in Nos. 1 and 2 have already been explained. The purpose of No. 3 is dealt with in Chapter Nine. In a well organised constituency Nos. 1 and 3 are usually ready.

The agent should have an early consultation with his officer commanding out-door meetings, who should be one of the first in the field and already familiar with the register and the division. Plans for open-air meetings on the most popular pitches should be put into operation without any delay.

Arrangements should at once be made for the first indoor meeting, to be addressed by the candidate, and this should be held in the largest hall in the most important centre of the constituency.

Before the campaign has been long in progress the agent should ascertain from the Returning Officer the number of counting agents he is to be allowed at the count, and he should immediately select suitable persons to attend in that capacity.

In making the selection he must remember that it is wise to invite (1) any influential local person who desires to be present, and (2) experts of his own staff who are competent judges of what constitutes a valid vote.

Having compiled his list of counting agents in good time, he must make arrangements for them to sign the statutory declaration of secrecy on the prescribed forms either before a J.P. or the Returning Officer. These declarations, together with the notifications of their appointment as counting agents, must be delivered to the Returning Officer not less than twenty-four hours before the opening of the poll. All the forms of appointment must be signed by the candidate.

Appointing Personation Agents.

Another question which the agent should take early opportunity to consider is the appointment of personation agents to act at the various stations on polling day.

In view of the legal limitations on expenditure, the wisdom of embarking on this expense is doubtful. Each personation agent costs about £3 3s. 0d. for the day's work, and where, as in some divisions, there are over sixty polling stations, the total cost is prohibitive.

If, however, the agent desires to make such appointments, he should select persons throughly acquainted with the electors and the polling district. A good selection can usually be made from the ranks of the retired postmen, insurance agents, rate collectors, and schoolmasters. These officials have to remain throughout the hours of polling at their stations, without even leaving for meals, in order to detect any attempt at personation on the part of those presenting themselves as voters.

Notice of such appointments, with the names and addresses of the men selected, must be given to the

Returning Officer twenty-four hours before the opening of the poll in order that he may issue the necessary authorisations. The notifications of appointment must be signed by the candidate.

Such paid functionaries, who must not exceed one to any polling station, may vote. Any number of unpaid men may be appointed to this work.

The Count.

Under an Amending Act to the 1918 Act, Returning Officers now have the right to count the votes, in the case of a borough election, immediately after the close of the poll. This course is always desirable in the interests of the agent, as it enables him to dispense with the bulk of his staff within a few hours of the closing of the ballot boxes.

Postponement of the count until the next day usually involves the inclusion of an additional day's expenses in the statutory return.

In county divisions such a prompt count is impossible, and it becomes necessary to retain the counting staff for the day following the poll. In this case, therefore, the services of as many volunteers as possible should be utilised.

By the courtesy of the Returning Officer it is usually possible to obtain permission for a number of visitors to be present at the count. These should be selected some days before, and their names submitted to the Returning Officer so that he can issue invitations or notify the police at the door. Where this courtesy is extended, visitors should be previously warned that they must not leave on any pretext during the count, nor perambulate the room while it is in progress. I recommend that they should make the declaration of secrecy.

If it is desired that any representative of the Press should be present, this can be secured by his appointment as counting agent, or as a visitor.

Extension of Polling Hours.

One question that calls for the earliest consideration is the extension of the polling hours, which are normally from 8.0 a.m. to 8.0 p.m. Under the 1913 Act any party to the election has the right to claim an extension of the hours from 7.0 a.m. to 8.0 a.m., or from 8.0 p.m. to 9.0 p.m., or both. This demand must be made to the Returning Officer before, during, or within one hour after nominations. It is desirable, however, to give the Returning Officer a private intimation of such an intention at the earliest possible moment.

Such an application should not be made unless there are very sound reasons for it, as it involves an exceptionally long day of arduous work for school teachers and other persons who usually act under the presiding officer at the polling stations. In addition, it increases the agent's expenses for personation agents and checkers. Trade Unions are in principle opposed to long hours, and this is often the ground of complaint against an agent who adopts such a course.

Nevertheless, there may on occasions be sound reasons for demanding an extension of the polling hours. It may happen, for instance, that in the constituency there are large works where the employees begin at 8.0 a.m. and they are so far removed from the polling station as to make it difficult for them to be brought to the poll during the day. Again, the local factories may be working overtime, and the employees are confronted with the alternative of making a financial sacrifice or neglecting their duty as citizens. It may be harvest time, with the haymakers working from early morning to late in the light evenings, or it may be market day. In mining districts it occasionally happens that a shift finishes at 7.0 a.m., in which case it is desirable that the men should be able to vote before going home to bed. Reasons such as these will enable the agent to claim an extension of the polling hours without any risk of incurring odium.

Agent's Appointment.

It must not be overlooked that the agent's own appointment must be notified to the Returning Officer, and this notification, signed by the candidate, should be the agent's first act, before any election expense is incurred. It should be promptly followed by the full name, description, rank, and address of the candidate, as these details will appear on the nomination paper. This assists the Returning Officer to put in hand the printing of the ballot papers.

One other little matter which the agent should remember when preparing his time table is some form of thanks to the electors after the poll. I usually make a point of having in readiness a number of printed letters of thanks to all who have given voluntary assistance during the campaign, and also a poster bearing a general expression of thanks for support. The latter should be placed on the hoardings immediately after the declaration of the poll. It invariably makes a good impression, and is frequently commented on in the Press.

Specimen Time Table.

I think that the time table on page 54 for a by-election, with the necessary alterations to meet the circumstances of particular contests, will be found a valuable guide to agents.

SPECIMEN TIME TABLE.

By-Election.

COUNTIES.

June 1. Receipt of writ and first possible day for notice of election.
„ 2. Give notice of appointment to Returning Officer. Issue notice of appointment to Press.
„ 3. Last possible day of notice of election.
„ 4. Give notice of appointment of sub-agents, and supply particulars of candidate to Returning Officer for purposes of public notices and ballot papers.
„ 5. First possible day for nomination, and last moment for extending hours of polling.
„ 6. Give notice to Returning Officer of polling or personation agents with declarations of secrecy.
„ 7. Sunday. (*Dies non.*)
„ 8. Give notice to Returning Officer of counting agents and friends appointed, and forward declarations of secrecy, including candidate, agent and friends.
„ 9.
„ 10.
„ 11. Last possible day of nomination, and last possible moment for extending hours of polling.
„ 12.
„ 13. First possible day of poll.
„ 14. Sunday. (*Dies non.*)
„ 15.
„ 16.
„ 17.
„ 18.
„ 19.
„ 20.
„ 21. Sunday. (*Dies non*).
„ 22. Last possible day for poll. Count. After declaration issue public and private letters of thanks for victory, help, loan of cars, etc. (In a county division the count would take place on the morning of the 23rd.)
„ 23. Suggested last day for advertising for claims. Return of writ to clerk of Crown by Returning Officer.
„ 24. Remind sub-agents and others authorised to make small payments to send in accounts with vouchers.
„ 25.
„ 26.
„ 27.
„ 28.

Specimen Time Table (*Continued*).

June	29.	
,,	30.	Remind candidate to let you have a statement of his personal expenses.
July	1.	
,,	2.	
,,	3.	
,,	4.	
,,	5.	
,,	6.	
,,	7.	Last day for receipt by agent or candidate of claims against the election.
		Last day for sub-agents and others authorised to make small payments to send to agent particulars of account and vouchers.
		Last day for candidate to send to agent a note of his personal expenses.
,,	8.	Last day for sending to Returning Officer detailed particulars of claims against that officer.
,,	9.	Commence to make out return of election expenses ready for audit.
,,	10.	
,,	11.	
,,	12.	
,,	13.	
,,	14.	
,,	15.	
,,	16.	
,,	17.	
,,	18.	
,,	19.	
,,	20.	Last day for payment of claims by election agent.
,,	21.	Forward form of return of election expenses and vouchers to accountant for audit.
,,	22.	
,,	23.	
,,	24.	Receipt from accountant of certificate of audit.
,,	25.	Swear declaration as to expenses, together with candidate if possible.
,,	26.	
,,	27.	Last day for election agent to transmit to Returning Officer return of election expenses and his declaration.
,,	28.	
,,	29.	
,,	30.	
,,	31.	
Aug.	1.	
,,	2.	

SPECIMEN TIME TABLE (*Continued*).

Aug.	3.	Last day for candidate, if in United Kingdom, to transmit to Returning Officer his declaration respecting expenses.
,,	4.	
,,	5.	
,,	6.	Last day for Returning Officer to publish the summaries of the returns.

BOROUGHS.

The time-table given above is for a by-election in a *county* or a *district borough*, and differs only in one or two respects for an *ordinary borough*. In the case of an ordinary borough the day of election (*i.e.*, nomination) shall be not later than the *fourth* day after which the writ is received. (In the two former divisions it is not later than the ninth.) Further, the interval between the day the Returning Officer gives notice of election and the day of election (nomination) in the case of a county or district borough shall be three clear days, and in the case of an ordinary borough not less than two.

GENERAL ELECTION.

June	1.	Proclamation.
,,	2.	
,,	3.	
,,	4.	
,,	5.	
,,	6.	
,,	7.	Sunday. (*Dies non.*)
,,	8.	
,,	9.	
,,	10.	Nomination.
,,	11.	
,,	12.	
,,	13.	
,,	14.	Sunday. (*Dies non.*)
,,	15.	
,,	16.	
,,	17.	
,,	18.	
,,	19.	
,,	20.	Poll.

As to calculation of time, etc., see "Parker," Chapter XI.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

CANDIDATE AND AGENT.

THE relations that subsist between candidate and agent have a very important bearing on an election contest. Petty interference on one side or neglect of duty on the other can only be followed by the most serious results, for throughout the period of the contest the two are thrown into an extraordinary position of mutual responsibility and authority.

When the candidate appoints an agent, he places his public reputation and his personal honour in pawn to a degree unparalleled in the law of principal and agent. His good name—his whole public career—may be compromised by the acts of his agent.

Had Mr. Punch directed his famous advice of " Don't " to those about to become parliamentary candidates, instead of to those about to marry, he could have justified the dictum with a far stronger case.

On the other hand, the agent assumes a responsibility at law as well as to the candidate that he can only accept with the widest measure of authority.

An almost analogous position is that of the Head of a Government and his Commander-in-Chief in the field. One controls broad principles of policy and the other the translation of those principles into actual operations, and these often become so delicately inter-related that considerable mutual forbearance has to be exercised in the interests of success.

Daily Conferences.

The great advantage that the candidate and agent enjoy is that they can remain in the closest touch throughout the campaign, whereas the Prime Minister and his Commander-in-Chief must mainly rely upon dispatches. In the old days it was the practice for the agent to accompany the candidate wherever he went. To-day the agent, if he knows his job, remains at G.H.Q., where his real work lies. Perfect co-operation can be secured by the candidate and agent living at the same hotel and holding daily conferences. In my opinion, the best times for these conferences are meal-times.

If the agent takes breakfast, lunch, and supper with his candidate there should be ample opportunity to transact all the business that is necessary between them, leaving the agent free at other times to attend to the details of the campaign.

Probably the breakfast conference will prove the most fruitful, for at this meal one can usually reckon on some clear thinking from both sides. The candidate will have suggestions, based on his observations of the previous day, and their practicability can be discussed. At this meal, too, the agent will hand the candidate his daily programme, and "brief" him fully respecting the meetings and deputations arranged for the day.

It is essential to the smooth working of the campaign that the candidate should, so far as his daily activities are concerned, place himself unreservedly in the hands of his agent. There cannot be two people committing the candidate to engagements. It is the agent's business to arrange meetings, fix hours for the reception of deputations, and otherwise dispose of the candidate's time.

For the candidate to enter into private engagements without previous consultation with his agent is to jeopardise the entire day's programme.

The Ideal Candidate.

The ideal candidate is the man who is " big enough " to ride to orders, who has confidence in his agent's ability to stage-manage, and who allows no petty ideas of personal dignity to interfere with the plan of campaign. Such complete confidence presupposes very careful consideration on the part of the candidate before he appoints his agent. This, indeed, is a legal obligation on his part. He must, for instance, satisfy himself that the man he appoints is not disqualified from acting as an agent by reason of corrupt practices at any previous election for a parliamentary seat.

Further, in his own interests, the candidate should satisfy himself that the man he proposes to appoint as his agent is thoroughly competent. Treat the appointment on businesslike lines and insist on satisfactory references. No business man would entrust the spending of a large sum of money to a man of whose capabilities he knew nothing, and the wise candidate will exercise a similar discretion.

If the candidate appoints the paid registration agent of a local political association, he must see that the work of the two offices do not become so intermingled as to endanger the election. If it is proved that the agent is acting in the dual capacity, it may be held that the association, as an association, has become an agent of the candidate, who will become responsible for its acts.

The candidate is bound by law to take all reasonable precautions to assure himself that his agent is a fit and proper person. Having taken those precautions, the candidate must be prepared to trust his man. It is the accepted rule for the appointment to be made as soon as the candidate comes before the constituency definitely as candidate. He may, if he chooses, act as his own agent, but this form of economy is invariably regretted.

With regard to the remuneration of the agent, there is a statutory fee of £50 in the case of a borough and £75 in the case of a county division, but the candidate is allowed to increase those sums if the additional amount is included in the maximum amount authorised to be spent on an election. Nowadays it is almost impossible to secure a really first-class man for the statutory fee.

Advice to Candidates.

The rest of my advice to the candidate I would summarise as follows :—

Work harmoniously with your agent. Don't bully him. Consult him. Take his advice as to the legal aspect of any step you propose to take. Carry out his programme to the letter. If he is making the pace too hot for you ask him to ease down a little, but remember that modern elections are short and, therefore, strenuous. In the Wrekin election, 1920, I fixed up 63 meetings for the last 12 days of General Townshend's campaign, and he went through them without a murmur. He was a soldier !

Engage nobody, pay nothing, and promise nothing. Refer all such matters to your agent, who knows the law on the subject.

Do not get anxious if a few days elapse before you make your first appearance at a public meeting in the division. Proper arrangements and adequate billing require a little time, and there is plenty for you to do meanwhile.

Remember that your chief job is to make yourself personally popular. Make an early call on all the leading local people—the clergy, tradesmen, heads of organised bodies, employers of labour, farmers, co-operators, etc.—including those who are opposed to you. Don't talk politics unless they start. Make it clear that your visit is simply an act of courtesy in deference to their local status. Make them see that however objectionable your politics may be to them you are personally a likeable man.

Don't expect your agent to nurse you too much. He has his own job to get on with, but see that he provides you with what one of my naval candidates once described as a " Flag Lieutenant " to act as your guide and personal assistant from morning to night.

Leave Details to Agent.

Don't interfere with the details of the campaign, and above all don't worry about them. You are paying another man to do that. On the other hand, don't hesitate to assert yourself and insist on things being done if you are convinced they are necessary.

Never lose an opportunity of keeping yourself in the public eye. There is no way in which you can help your agent more than by making friends. A friendly handshake often means a vote, especially with the women electors. You are asking men and women to put their confidence in you. Make them feel that they know you. Remember that you have no spare time while the campaign is on. Whenever there is nothing else to do, canvass ! If you do it from morning to night you will not complete the task. Voters like to be asked for their votes, particularly by the candidate. Don't give them a chance to say : " He never troubled to ask me. Why should I vote for him ? "

Talk to your agent's staff. Encourage them with praise when they organise anything well. Infuse them with your own enthusiasm.

Above all, be courteous to the Press—even the enemy Press—and never regard them as a nuisance. The most powerful public man cannot afford to be rude to the humblest reporter. What he writes to-day, hundreds will think to-morrow. Reporters are very human fellows. They will reward your courtesy a hundredfold. A considerate act on your part may even take the sting out of the attack of the opposition Press. Pose for the Press photographers and give them the kind of picture they want. Even royal personages do it nowadays, and it always pays.

Finally, listen to what people say to you, but do not be misled by the optimism of the enthusiasts or the pessimism of the wet-blankets.

Advice to Agents.

To the agent I would say :

Study the psychology of your candidate. If he is a poor speaker, don't overwork him in that direction. He probably has an attractive personality instead, which is quite as useful. In that case, see that personal canvassing occupies the larger portion of his day's programme. I have handled candidates whose every appearance on the platform meant the losing of votes. On the other hand they did excellent work in canvassing down coal mines !

When you hand him his daily programme, see that he has a fair chance of making a good impression. If he is to receive deputations it is your business to know the kind of questions he will be asked and the kind of answers that will be desired. Brief your candidate well and thoroughly, so that he is not caught unawares. Warn him of the "trick" questions. Guileful questioners must be met with guile.

Understand your candidate's policy and catch his spirit. Listen to his suggestions and adopt them if they are practicable. Respond to him whenever possible. Advise him at all times.

Relieve him of all unnecessary worries. Give him a cheery assurance if he is anxious that some particular thing should be done, and see that it is done. Don't let other people bother him. He must always appear in good spirits. You cannot afford to have a harrassed candidate.

Post him daily with facts he can use in his speeches and answers to the speeches of the other side. Whatever you print and whatever statement you issue as coming from him, be sure that it has received his sanction. He has to stand by everything that is issued in his name.

Keep your temper, even when your candidate or your staff are rather "trying," but come down heavily on the deliberate slacker. Keep your head, and never show the white feather. Things are never as bad—nor even quite as good—as you think. The demeanour of your candidate and yourself will be reflected in your staff. Keep their tails up!

A Great Responsibility.

Finally, you know your great responsibility. It depends almost entirely on how hard and how well you work whether the seat is won or lost. Don't grudge that last ounce of energy. You will be glad later on.

Remember that you are responsible not only to the candidate for all your actions, but also to the Court for certain of your duties. Above all, you cannot afford to ignore any corrupt or illegal practice. You are bound to prevent it. The candidate has the right of action against you for want of care, diligence, or skill in managing the election. On your side, see that your candidate is not disqualified. It is your business to ask him.

He has placed his reputation, his money, and his confidence in your keeping. See that the trust is not abused.

The Candidate's Wife and Children.

One other point must be dealt with in this chapter, and that is the part played in modern elections by the candidate's wife and children (if any). Nothing appeals more to the public than domestic felicity, and it is no use ignoring this aspect of mass psychology.

On public platforms, and whenever possible elsewhere, the candidate should be accompanied by his wife. If she can speak in public, no meeting should be complete without a little heart-to-heart talk from her to the women electors. It is difficult to over-estimate the vote-winning influence of an attractive woman when she is the wife of the candidate. In the Dover election of 1921, which was in many respects the most remarkable contest of recent times, the wonderful pluck and emotional eloquence of Lady Polson was regarded by many competent judges as the decisive factor in the contest.

Not every candidate can have a wife with the gifts of this lady, but there is always something she can do. She is generally an excellent canvasser, and even if she can be trusted to do no more than ride about in a car and smile happily by his side, she is still doing useful work.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

THE AGENT'S G.H.Q. STAFF.

IT is an axiom of military warfare that when the opposing forces are approximately equal in numbers, arms, and morale, the outcome of any engagement depends solely on what is called "staff work." Indeed, superior numbers and arms have frequently been forced to yield to superior leadership and organisation.

In the warfare of election contests, staff work is no less important.

How many times have I seen at declarations of the poll, the so-called "strong local candidate" standing dazed with amazement as he listened to the figures that told of his crushing defeat by a candidate previously unknown in the division!

Such bewilderment is not difficult to understand, yet it ought not to exist. Candidates who pin their faith to the average local organisation are not infrequently relying on little more than a list of names. The proportion of those names that can safely be regarded as favourable votes is decided by the amount of brains put into the campaign. That, in turn, depends on staff work.

Modern elections are short, sharp engagements. There is much to be done in a little time, and the agent is not yet born who can efficiently attend even to all of the important tasks. He must delegate much that is vital to others.

I do not advocate the excessive departmentalising of the work. Given high efficiency, the fewer the personnel of the staff the better, but no man must be called upon to undertake more than he can do well.

The Ideal Staff.

In my opinion, the ideal staff for an election agent consists of (1) chief of staff, (2) cashier, (3) O.C. committee rooms, (4) O.C. indoor meetings, (5) O.C. outdoor speakers, (6) O.C. press, publicity and propaganda, and librarian, (7) O.C. canvassers and removals, (8) O.C. transport, (9) O.C. women electors' department, (10) O.C. special voters' department, (11) packer and storekeeper, and (12) candidate's aide-de-camp.

In addition, of course, there must be a clerical staff. With the functions of all these departments I shall deal at length in subsequent sections. Here I should like to emphasize the importance of absolute cohesion between the various departments. The machine must function as a whole, and the best method of securing this is to hold a morning conference, attended by all the chief officers.

Such conferences provide opportunities for the agent to give general instructions on policy affecting one or more departments, but even when the agent is not able to attend it ensures that such inter-acting officers as O.C. indoor meetings and O.C. transport get together early on each day of the campaign and arrange their plans.

Appointment of Sub-Agent.

I have omitted from my " ideal staff " all mention of a sub-agent or sub-agents. In the case of county constituencies, the desirability or otherwise of such an appointment has to be considered.

There is a great deal to be said both for and against. In the first place the sub-agent is an expense that adds to the agent's difficulty in keeping within the limits of the maximum expenditure. Secondly, such an appointment increases the number of persons by whose acts an election may be avoided. If a sub-agent does anything that an agent may not legally do, its effect is precisely the same as if it were done by the agent himself.

On the other hand, a sub-agent, if he is the right man for the job, is an extremely useful person, and can save the agent a great deal of work in a scattered division. He may only act within the area allotted to him, but within that area should be relied upon to collect and collate the canvass returns, arrange all the meetings, secure the most suitable halls and the best open-air pitches, supervise the committee rooms, and act as liaison officer with G.H.Q.

If it is decided that the appointment of a sub-agent for any area is absolutely necessary, the integrity, reliability, and suitability of the person to be appointed must be enquired into with the same strictness as in the appointment of an agent. He must be a man capable of exercising efficient control over all arrangements in the area allotted to him.

He must be appointed by the agent, who is required to deliver to the Returning Officer a notice of appointment. The sub-agent must also receive from the agent a legal notice of appointment authorising him to incur expenditure on the agent's behalf.

Once appointed, he has certain statutory rights. The sum to be paid to him must be declared at the time of appointment, and this sum must be included in the statutory return of election expenses.

It need hardly be said that no more sub-agents should be appointed than are absolutely necessary. Where territory can be effectively worked by means of cars from G.H.Q. this should be done.

A sub-agent, it may be pointed out, is not disqualified from voting.

When communicating with a committee room or any person in the territory under the control of a sub-agent, this officer should always be used as the medium. He should therefore be on the telephone or near one, and he will usually require a conveyance of some kind.

Agent's Personal Assistant.

One other appointment, hardly to be dignified by formal inclusion in the list of staff officers but nevertheless of no small practical importance, is the agent's personal assistant, who must be a capable shorthand typist. For this work a girl is usually chosen, and one possessing a still tongue and sound discretion is to be preferred to a damsel with a " film face."

She will of necessity see and hear much that it is desirable the opposition should know nothing about. If a leakage becomes obvious, and moves are anticipated by the other side, change your typist.

(1.) CHIEF OF STAFF.

The chief of staff must get to work in the division simultaneously with the agent, for his principal preliminary task is to engage the necessary premises, clerks, messengers, etc., required for the campaign.

Before he can do this he must have acquired a fair knowledge of the territory to be worked, in order to decide what staff will be required for the various polling districts. He should be a man with a keen eye for character reading, capable of assessing after a few moments' conversation the value of any applicant for work.

In the matter of staff the law exercises a certain measure of control. One cannot engage clerks and messengers *ad lib.* The maximum in each grade is prescribed in the Act as follows :—

> IN COUNTIES one clerk and one messenger may be employed for payment for the central committee room, or if the number of electors in the division exceed 5,000 then one clerk and one messenger may be so employed for every complete 5,000 electors, or number of electors over and above 5,000. There may be employed for payment in a county division a number of clerks and messengers not exceeding in number one clerk and one messenger for each polling district, or when the number of electors in a polling district exceeds 500, one clerk and one messenger for every complete 500 electors, or number over and above any complete 500 electors.
>
> IN BOROUGHS the number of paid clerks and messengers that may be employed is the same as if the borough were a polling district in a county, but the clerks and messengers employed at the central committee room must be reckoned in the number of the general staff as under the Act there is no separate staff allowed for the central committee room.
>
> Clerks when not required at the central committee room may be drafted to the outside polling district committee rooms.

Engaging Election Staff.

The task of engaging staff must be carried out in a way that is helpful to the campaign.

The secretary of the local ex-service men's organisation usually has on his books a number of useful men in need of employment, and these men—together with the widows and dependents of ex-service men—should be given the first chance.

Not only is this a national duty, but it creates a good impression. It also assists the O.C. special voters' department later on when he comes to canvass the votes of the ex-service men.

Where specially trained clerks are needed, the manager of the local Employment Exchange can usually provide them.

The chief of staff should endeavour, as far as possible, to employ only local labour. Quite apart from all questions of policy, those possessing an intimate local knowledge of the district and its electors are always the most useful. Such knowledge will, of course, be essential in the case of those appointed to act as pilots to chauffeurs strange to the district. Frequently, volunteers can be found for this work. It is generally carried on after business hours, when the majority of the meetings are held, and many a young man gladly regards the ride as sufficient recompense.

Each person appointed to a paid post should be informed of his legal obligations, his duties, expenses allowed (if any), salary, and pay-day. On appointment, he should be drafted to the committee room for which he has been engaged, and thereafter he will be under the control of the O.C. committee rooms.

All members of the staff should be insured under the Workmen's Compensation Act against Employers'

Liability—including the staff engaged by the day. The premium on the policy should be charged under " Miscellaneous."

Schedule of Staff.

Having completed his staff, the chief of staff will prepare a schedule, which he will pass on to the cashier, giving details as to the name, address, how, where, and when engaged, and wages of each person appointed. In my own organisation I always make use of the form on page 72 for the purpose.

The Agent's Deputy.

But a good chief of staff is much more than a mere labour organiser. Once he has completed this part of the work he becomes, in effect, the deputy agent. Such an officer is absolutely essential.

Even the wonderful Einstein theory of relativity which, according to those who profess to understand it, has revolutionised everything else, has left unaffected the ancient truth that no man can be in two places at one time. As decisions are constantly called for during the temporary absence of the agent from the central committee rooms, the chief of staff should always remain " on deck " in his absence, with full authority to act.

Furthermore, he will keep the agent posted up to the minute as to the activities of the other side. How he acquires this information will be his own business, but if he knows his work he will not be long in any division without having established an intelligence department with a number of lines of communication bringing frequent reports of the enemy's activities.

His own canvassers and district committee rooms' clerks can help him considerably in this work, but he will also have various " unofficial " sources of infomation.

SCHEDULE OF STAFF.

To be filled by Chief of Staff and handed to Cashier at the earliest possible moment.

Full Name.	Address.	If on Register of Electors.	Nature of Employment.	Allocated to	Date Engaged	Pay.	Date of Termination.
						£ s. d.	
Brown, John James	61, High st., Chatham	No	Clerk	Rochester	1 June	3 10 0	
Smith, William	15, Hill St., Stroud	Yes	Messenger	Central C.R.	2 June	2 15 0	
Robinson, Walter	24, North St., Chatham	No	Storekeeper	do.	1 June	3 10 0	

This is an important part of the campaign. It is unsafe to ignore the activities of even the feeblest opponent. Always watch the enemy closely and never underestimate him. Hit him, hit him hard, and keep on hitting him—but never below the belt. Foul blows lose more elections than anything else.

(2.) THE CASHIER.

Next in importance on the staff is the cashier, for only by means of his daily return of expenses can the agent exercise the day-to-day control over expenditure that is vitally necessary if financial surprises and difficulties are to be avoided.

Here, again, the spirit animating the cashier must be such as will prove helpful to the general campaign. He must be a man who believes in prompt payment, which always creates an excellent impression in any constituency. This is especially true amongst the tradesmen, whose influence is not to be despised. They come into contact daily with a large number of voters, and the election is naturally a frequent topic of discussion.

Nevertheless, the business aspect of prompt cash must not be overlooked. It often happens that £40 or £50 can be saved during a campaign by means of discounts for "spot cash."

Departmental Reports.

The cashier should receive early reports from the various heads of departments containing the following details :—

(1). Chief of staff : A list of staff engaged, terms and date of engagement, and any other expenditure incurred for the agent.

(2). O.C. committee rooms: Addresses of all committee rooms, name and description of person from whom hired, rent agreed upon, and any special fee fixed for clearing up after the poll.

(3). O.C. indoor meetings: List of halls engaged, fees, dates and times of meetings, names and description of persons to whom fees are payable. (Times of meetings should be stated as fees for afternoon meetings are frequently lower than for evening meetings.)

(4). O.C. outdoor speakers: List of personnel and travelling expenses of volunteer lecturers and speakers.

(5). O.C. Press and publicity: List of newspapers and blue books, etc., ordered; leaflets and posters put in hand with consent of agent; name and address of printers and prices agreed.

(6). O.C. transport: Return of cars and conveyances engaged, from whom hired, journeys accomplished, mileage, and time occupied.

The cashier must exercise the greatest care in keeping his books, as they may have to go before a judge in the event of a petition. The agent should never destroy election documents until a reasonable time after the period for lodging a petition has passed.

Illegal Expenses.

He must remember that under no circumstances must he pay for anything on account of the canvassers' department. Payment, on behalf of canvassers, of the cost of conveyances, refreshment, meals, or living accommodation is illegal.

In the return of the O.C. transport he must be careful not to pass any item for the living accommodation, petrol, tyres, or running repairs of any chauffeur or car lent to the candidate for the purpose of conveying voters to or from the poll. All such payments are illegal.

He must also keep in mind that it is illegal to let or hire, lend or borrow, employ or use for the purpose of conveying voters to or from the poll any public stage or hackney carriage, or to make any payment of any kind to a person either lending or driving a vehicle used for such a purpose.

Each day the cashier should collate the returns of expenses incurred by the various departments, and furnish the agent with a daily summary.

His ambition should be to have every account paid before the opening of the poll. This frequently means the constant worrying of people for accounts. Bill-posters are notoriously lax in this respect, and newsagents and printers not infrequently share the same weakness. Nevertheless, he should insist. He should further see that no member of the staff who has finished his work remains on the salary list a day longer than necessary. He should have been paid off and at once.

On polling day the only account that should remain outstanding is the candidate's hotel bill. If the cashier has properly organised his work he should have paid up and cleared up within a few hours of the declaration of the poll. Within twenty-four hours of the declaration he should be able to submit to the agent a complete return of expenses.

(3.) O.C. COMMITTEE ROOMS.

One of the essential accomplishments of the O.C. committee rooms is the ability to walk into a strange town and become, within an hour, the occupier of the most desirable and convenient premises available at a moderate rental.

With some men it is a gift. Estate agents and owners of desirable property appear to be their special prey. With others, all sorts of difficulties arise. There is a natural reluctance on the part of owners of property to have their premises converted into a kind of bill-posting station, but their equally natural desire for the property to earn rent can generally be made to triumph if assurances—faithfully carried out later—are given that the property shall be surrendered in the same condition as on occupation.

In securing his committee rooms, the O.C. must remember two things. The G.H.Q. must be in the busiest centre of the principal town or district of the division, and the sub-committee rooms must be in close proximity to the polling stations.

In the case of a county division provision is made in the Act for the central committee rooms. In the case of a borough no such provision is made, and the G.H.Q. must, therefore, be reckoned as one of the general total of committee rooms, the number of which is strictly limited by the Act.

Forbidden Premises.

The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act places several restrictions upon the choice of committee rooms, both as regards number and specification.

No premises licensed for the sale, wholesale or retail, of intoxicating liquors, nor in any premises where any intoxicating liquor is sold or supplied to members of a club, society, or association, other than a permanent political club; nor in any premises where refreshments, that is food or drink, are sold for consumption on the premises; nor in the premises of any public elementary school. These are prohibited places within the meaning of the Act, and if such are used or hired as a committee room it is an illegal hiring.

It forbids the use of the following premises whether hired or lent :—

Hotels, inns, public-houses and beer-houses.
Restaurants and eating-houses of all kinds.
Grocers and other shops having off licences.
Shops or refreshment houses having wine licences.
Brewers' premises.
Wine and spirit merchants' premises.
Coffee shops, etc.
Social and workingmen's clubs (where they are non-political, and intoxicants supplied).
Political clubs held on licensed premises.
Schools.

There are one or two qualifications to the above-named premises. For instance, under Section 20 of the Act, any part of any of them that are ordinarily let as chambers or offices or for public meetings, or if such part has a separate entrance and no direct communication with any part in which refreshments are sold, or supplied, it is permissible to use such premises as a committee room. In regard to "permanent political clubs" it is not easy to say what construction is placed upon this term, and I advise in all questions of doubt to steer clear from Unionist, Conservative, Constitutional, Working Men's or Liberal Clubs, and secure premises which are free from any doubt as to whether they are prohibited places within the meaning of the Act. For decisions and definitions see "Parker," Chapter 5.

Having secured his premises, the O.C. committee rooms will draw from store the necessary furniture and and stationery, etc., for the equipment of the various committee rooms. A complete list of election stores (excluding furniture) will be found under "Packer and Storekeeper."

Instructions to Staff.

Before setting to work the staff sent to him by the chief of staff, the O.C. committee rooms will instruct them in their duties and, for their further guidance, he should hand them a leaflet of instructions drafted on similar lines to the following, or adapted to suit the local circumstances :—

INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMITTEE ROOM CLERKS—Specially directed to those in charge.

The sub-agent (in the case of county divisions only) is and he is my legal representative for your area. You are placed in charge under his direction of the committee room situate at
and you will cover the following area
Polling District comprising
The messenger allocated to you is
The officers in charge of various departments are as under :—

O.C. Staff.
O.C. Committee Rooms.
O.C. Indoor Meetings.
O.C. Outdoor Meetings.
O.C. Transport.
O.C. Canvass.

Here fill in names of respective officers.

The registers for the above district(s) are sent you herewith for use as follows :—

(1) For chief committee room use and marking up.
(2) For pasting on wall sheet.
(3) Printed on one side only for pasting in canvassers books.

(*Delete this entry if the single card system of canvassing is adopted.*)

Canvass cards are sent you herewith*/or will be sent you in a day or so.

Will you please note and sign the duplicate of these instructions. You are strictly forbidden to pay for any refreshments of any kind or to promise advantage, threaten loss to any person to obtain the promise of a vote. You must not incur any expense or commit me to any liability unless previously authorised by me in writing. You are also forbidden to pay for conveying any elector to or from the poll, neither must you hire any conveyance for this purpose. You must not give away any flags, favours, ribbons, or any other mark of distinction.

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* If 3 is adopted this line will be deleted.

Petty cash and other payments authorised by me should be rendered to the cashier at the central committee room on Friday of each week, which is my usual pay day.

Your Duties.—You are responsible for the entire conduct of the committee room. Let system and order be your motto. The rooms should be open not later than a.m. and closed at a time when it is considered that the day's business is over. You must bear in mind that canvassers and callers after information and volunteer helpers do not call and see you until after their normal day's work is done, therefore, it is almost impossible for you to close your office much before p.m.

You must make a daily report to me containing information as to the progress of the fight, the general reception of our candidate, the activity of the other side, suitable places and times for open-air meetings. Full particulars, including rents, etc., of halls suitable for public meetings, in the event of women's meetings in the afternoon, and above all send me in accurate and complete daily return of your canvassing.

Get to know your district thoroughly, the prominent and influential people therein, and cultivate them either through your canvassers or by personal calls. Be sure and ask likely and suitable people if they will take the chair for our candidate at any of his meetings either afternoon or evening. In the former a local prominent lady is desirable, and in the evening a prominent and respected local man.

Prepare as soon as possible a list of local private car owners and forward same to me in order that I may write them and ask them to loan the car for polling day.

Each day, sometimes more frequently, leaflets and posters will reach you, and this is what you have to do with them.

Leaflets.—Distribute by whatever means are open to you, through canvassers, open-air speakers, on the chairs at indoor meetings, and by all other legitimate means of getting our literature before our electors. Window cards have been (or are about to be) posted to every elector. (If it has been decided not to post window cards insert here—" a good supply will be sent to you "). The small supply sent you should be used to hand out to shopkeepers, publicans, and other persons who are in a position to display them.

Public Meetings for women, in the afternoon, and for the general public in the evening will be held throughout your district. You will be advised of these by means of a small supply of handbills and posters—the major portion of the printing ordered being handed over by me to the local billposter. Immediately upon receipt of advice of meetings will you please arrange for a mover and seconder of the resolution to be submitted to the meeting, and advise me at once of their full names. On the day of the meeting will you please see that everything is in readiness—that there is a table on the platform with a sufficient number of chairs to accommodate local influential people, and that the speakers are supplied with water-bottle and glass, and that at least one of each of our leaflets are on the chairs in the body of the hall. Programme as to speakers, form of resolution, etc., will reach you on the morning of the day of each meeting.

It is essential for you to see that the billposter has done his work thoroughly; if not, advise me at once in order that I may dispute his account.

All arrangements for stationery, envelopes, addressing, etc., are made from the central committee room, and everything you require must be obtained from there, and thereby obviate necessity for local expenditure.

One of the first and probably one of the most important things you have to do is to get nomination papers filled in and return to me not later than 5.0 p.m. on the day of . The forms have already been supplied to you, and two of these should be filled in by *men* electors and two by women. You should also obtain at least one filled in entirely by farmers, one by publicans and their wives, another by ex-service men, and others by any organised body of electors, trades or classes in your district, such as ratepayers' association, municipal employees, etc. In filling up the nomination papers the following instructions should be strictly adhered to. On each form there must appear a proposer and a seconder whose full names and address must be given at A and B respectively, and their signatures at C and D respectively, as they appear on the register, that is to say, a man or woman should sign his or her name and address as per the electors' register, even if such entry is wrong in some particular. Then must follow at least eight names and addresses of assentors, the first assentor signing the paper at E. It is preferable, if time permit, to obtain ten assentors so that if any are wrong they can be crossed out and still leave the paper with assentors presentable to the returning officer. The persons who can sign nomination paper are those whose names appear on the Parliamentary Register which has been supplied to you. It is desirable that such form should not be signed by an alien—even although his name appears on the register. As the papers are completed, please send them to me. Before doing so, however, write in pencil on the left-hand side of each entry, the register number of all signatories against their respective signatures. A specimen entry on a nomination paper is given below.

Y. 621 William Smith, of the Laurels, King Street, Wellington.

The filling in of nomination papers is one of your earliest and most important duties. I expect you to send me at least six completed papers so that the final paper reaches me not later than the time mentioned above. Whatever happens nothing must prevent you from letting me have on foolscap paper the list of names and addresses of those who have signed the papers so that our candidate may send out a personal letter of thanks to them for their support.

How to Organise your Canvass.—As a result of the publicity given to our candidate in the general and local Press you should by this time have collected round you a band of voluntary workers who in the first instance will form your election sub-committee. Their efforts as far as possible should be concentrated on the canvass. Canvass books (or cards) covering the whole of the area for which you are responsible will shortly be supplied to you (or have already been supplied to you). Instructions as to how to organise your canvass are dealt with below :—

Remember to be tactful, courteous, and polite to all your canvassers. They are all volunteers and cannot be paid for their services or for their refreshments, etc. Never refuse the offer of a single hour's assistance. Urge your volunteers to realise the main object of the canvass :—

(1) To interest the electors in the election.

(2) To point out to them that they are on the register and entitled to vote.

(3) To urge them not to fail to vote, and see who can display window cards, etc.

Before your canvassers start out you have to supply them with cards (or books) for the area they have to cover. Do not give them too much for one day. It is far better to have a half street covered efficiently than the whole street done badly. In the case of a scattered village or rural area make up the itinerary in such a way as to save the canvassers "doubling back" over ground which he or she has already trodden. Endeavour to cover this part of your area with canvassers who have either motor cycles or bicycles or cars. Give each canvasser a supply of election addresses and leaflets and meeting handbills to be left at all houses called upon. Insist upon all canvassers coming back to you each night with their cards and report. Remember you have to report to me, on the daily canvass return, the progress made in your area, and remember also that you must do this each night.

At the time you issue canvass cards or books for canvassers, a record should be kept of issue on the form already supplied to you. When the cards are returned duly marked in accordance with the leaflet "Instructions to Canvassers," you should at once proceed to sort as follows :—

(*a*) For
(*b*) Against
(*c*) Doubtful
(*d*) Won't say
(*e*) Dead
(*f*) Removed

The procedure to be adopted in each of the above six classifications are as follows :—

(*a*) Mark your register and wall sheet immediately with a red tick which will indicate that they are favourable voters.

(*b*) Mark your register with a blue tick and put on one side for treatment by special canvassers.

(*c*) Ditto. } Mark your register with a black tick and
(*d*) Ditto. } do ditto.

(*e*) Cross through in black on register and wall sheet, mark "dead" and put away.

It should be noted that the personation agent at each polling station should be supplied with a list of the "dead", so that he can check any attempt at the personation of deceased persons.

(*f*) Cross out address only on register and put aside for removal to be traced.

Many of the canvassers' records will contain notice as to invalids, business men, and others who will require picking up in cars on polling day. These are to be carded or listed and placed on one side for treatment prior to polling day.

Cards marked "against" should receive special treatment at the hands of your most able canvassers, assuming of course that you will have time to double back on this class of elector. If you are unable to do so, put the cards on one side and label them "against," marking your register as above.

"Doubtful" and "Won't say" voters, should be called upon a second time. Those who waiver in their decision can very often be turned and induced to state their colour by means of persuasive canvassers and a selection of topical and unassailable leaflets. Your best canvassers must handle this class of case, otherwise it is not worth doing.

With regard to "Won't say" (*d*) voters, get at them a second time if possible. It is better to know that a certain elector is against you than to estimate on an unknown quantity.

With regard to the elector who has died since the compilation of the register, sufficient has been said to show how useful this information is to the personation agent on polling day. It is sufficient to say that every agent attaches great importance to a record being handed to the personation agent some time before the opening of the poll.

With regard to removals (*f*), you should endeavour to trace the present address of all persons who have removed since the register upon which we are fighting came into operation. Having traced the removal, the standard form of removal letter and postcard must be posted to each of these electors.

DAILY CANVASS RETURN.—You should post to me each night daily canvass return showing the result of the day's progress. Number your return each day " First Daily Return " " Second Daily Return," and so on. Above all things do not humbug me in your figures. I would rather know the worst and endeavour to help you out than you should assume the attitude " all's well with the world to-day." Never be over-optimistic. Daily canvass returns should be sent to me under cover and marked " Confidential."

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS.—Attached to my organisation is a competent staff of open-air speakers who are available for meetings in your area. You should, therefore, report to the officer commanding open-air meetings the special times, etc., when such meetings could be held, names and addresses of works, factories, and other places where dinner-hour and shift meetings are possible and permissible. Do not, however, suggest meetings unless you have ascertained either by inquiry or by your own knowledge that such meetings will be well attended.

Give the officers commanding my various departments all possible help. Remember if they request you to do anything they are acting under my authority. Let me know where I can get hold of you on the telephone. It is quite possible that you will be able to arrange with the owner of the nearest telephone to your committee room to allow you to use the telephone for outgoing calls, also to allow me to communicate with you whenever necessary. Such an arrangement saves valuable time and money.

POLLING DAY.—As polling day approaches get your organisation for that day in perfect order. All you have done during the progress of the fight will be of no avail if you break down on the day of days.

Appoint your checkers at the polling station some days before the day. Instruct them as to the nature of their duties. Prepare each day list of voters to be called for, times and places at which they are to be picked up. It is desirable that this list is kept in chronological order, so that you know as the clock goes round the time and place to which you have to send conveyances to pick up any given voter.

Remember to supply your personation agent or agents with marked copies of the register covering their polling stations.

A problem to be dealt with on polling day is what use can canvassers be put to. They can be made particularly good use of on that day. Remember that most of them have canvassed a certain area and know the people who are favourable and who require picking up and so on; therefore the canvassers should be given charge of a car to work their own canvass district, or to bring their own flock to the poll.

On polling day you should have everybody on duty between 7.40 and 7.45 a.m. Your messengers, personation agents, canvassers, will find plenty to occupy their attention before the opening of the poll. If the hours of polling have been extended, before 8 a.m. the time mentioned above should be put forward one hour.

Cars.—You will in due course be advised as to what conveyances you may expect for use on polling day. Whether the number be great or small I expect you to make full use of them. The officer commanding transport is in entire charge of the conveyances, and any question arising out of this matter should be addressed to him.

Surplus canvassers can be usefully employed as pilots on the cars strange to the district. Whatever else you do, be sure and pick up those electors who have made definite appointments for calling, and during the time in which your cars are vacant the canvassers should "knock up" the people within the district in which they have canvassed.

It is almost impossible to allow chauffeurs to go to their meals at the ordinary time. Dinner hour and tea time rushes at factories, works, etc., have to be dealt with and drivers of conveyances should at all times take their meals convenient to you and not convenient to themselves. If on polling day you have difficulty in this direction please communicate with me at once.

Marking of Wall Sheets.—You will receive about every half hour or so numbers from the polling booths as to the electors who have recorded their votes. Immediately they arrive they should be scored off on the wall sheets in red or blue, as the case may be, so that any enquiries made as to who has or who has not voted can be replied to immediately, and the remainder reported to the canvasser who had special charge of the district, and he or she in turn will "knock up" the elector as suggested above. There is no telling how much depends upon polling all those who have previously announced their intention of voting. It is useless to accept their statement at the time of canvass that they will vote and that they do not want fetching. Many elections have been lost as a result of the acceptance of that statement. It is your duty, assisted by your canvassers to see that every promise is either recorded or taken to the poll, and the off times with the cars should be usefully employed in getting supporters to put on their clothes, get in the cars and go and record their votes.

Finance.—A few words as to finance. Every Friday during the election you should deliver to the cashier a list on the form enclosed of petty expenses incurred by you during the week. Such items will be refunded to you on that day when wages are paid. All payments for rent of halls, committee rooms and similar items will be made from the central office. At the close of the poll you should collect your papers, records, etc., and present them early on the following morning to the central committee rooms, and bring with you a final statement of your account.

Leave your committee room exactly as you found it. Clean off the bills and posters posted on the walls, return any furniture which you have hired, and bring with you the statement of any account which you know is unpaid and report same to the cashier. Prepare a list of voluntary workers and of car owners whose cars are working for you on polling day in order that a personal letter of thanks may be sent to them. It is always my object to pay every account before the sun goes down on the day of the count, and, therefore, will you please do all in your power to assist me in this end.

COMMITTEE ROOM CLERK'S WEEKLY RETURN OF EXPENSES.

Polling District ....

for the week ending ....

NOTE.—No expenses may be incurred without consent of the Agent. Vouchers for every payment must be attached.

Date.	Nature of Expenditure.	Analysis.	£	s.	d.
		To be left blank for cashier.			

The Committee Room Staff.

The O.C. must see that his staff is composed of live men who know how to receive in a courteous way the volunteer helpers that come along. They must also know how to refer to registers quickly and answer the questions of those who wish to know whether they are entitled to vote, and explain to those on the Absent Voters' List who have, since the preparation of the register, returned to their permanent home, the method of securing transfer to the ordinary register.

Many ex-service men require this procedure explained to them, and it is as follows:—Any man who was registered as an elector at the time he was serving in the

Forces and whose name is still on the Absent Voters' List, and who therefore cannot vote at a polling station, but who is now discharged must write to the registration officer for the constituency for which he is qualified as a resident, and request that his name be taken off the Absent Voters' List so that he can vote at a polling station in the ordinary way. The form of post card with the official paid postage stamp duly fixed is available for this purpose on application to the registration officer of the division. It should be the aim of a committee room clerk when a man whose name appears on an Absent Voters' List comes in for this information to see that he signs the post card which is known by its Code Number as R.P. 73.

Then there is the reverse provision for a man who is nominally registered at home but who just before an election is called away on service which will prevent him from recording his vote in respect of his residence qualification, and if he desires to vote by post, *i.e.*, that an absent voters' ballot paper should be sent to him, the committee room clerk should request him to fill in that portion of the same post card (R.P. 73), which is applicable in his case. The post card itself and the instructions on the back thereof are printed below. It should be posted by the elector himself and not by the committee room clerk. There appears to be no reason, however, why the committee room clerk should not assist in the filling in of the document. The instructions and form of card are as follows :—

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION.

Men who are registered as electors and were serving in the Forces when the register was prepared would have their names still on the Absent Voters' List. An elector whose name is on the Absent Voters' List cannot vote in person at a polling station, and any man whether still in the

Forces or discharged, whose name is on that list will vote by post, unless he requests that his name be taken off the list.

You can ascertain whether you are registered as an absent voter by looking at a copy of the register which will usually be found at the Town Hall, or office of the Registration Officer, or at the chief Post Office. If you are registered and the letter " a " is set against your name, it means you are on the Absent Voters' List.

If you desire to vote by post you should make the request in the part marked " A " on the form on the other side, so that the Returning Officer may know to what address your ballot paper is to be sent.

If you desire your name to be taken off the Absent Voters' List so that you may vote at the polling station in the ordinary way you should make the request in the part of the form marked "B" and *strike out the* part marked "A."

The form when filled up should be posted to the Registration Officer of the county or borough in which you are registered, whose address should be inserted opposite. This should be done so that the form may be received by the Registration Officer not later than the (date)

R.P. 73.

ABSENT VOTERS.

READ INSTRUCTIONS ON OTHER SIDE.

A

I hereby request that my Ballot Paper at the coming General Election may be sent to me at the following postal address, viz. :— ....

....

or B

I hereby request that my name be taken off the Absent Voters' List so that I may vote at the polling station in the ordinary way.

Full name ....

Constituency ....

*Address of qualifying premises ....
....

*No. on Absent Voters' List..

Ship, unit and corps, etc. ....
....

(In the case of a discharged man the former ship, unit and corps, etc., should be stated.)

Signed ....

Date..

Witnessed by ....

Address of Witness ....
....

---

*The full qualifying address must be stated, and also the number on the Absent Voters' List, if known.

General Duties.

The O.C. committee rooms will receive almost daily from the O.C. press and publicity a supply of handbills announcing meetings, and propaganda leaflets, which he must have distributed without delay to (1) every house in his area, (2) every works or factory, and (3) at the meetings of both his own candidate and those of his opponent.

On receipt from the agent of the nomination forms for his area he must at once get to work to have them completed according to instructions, *i.e.*, two signed by men and two by women. But he must not stop there. If the members of any local association or the employees of any local industry are prepared to complete additional forms, it is his business to see that they are signed and returned promptly to the agent.

The head of each committee room should forward daily to the agent a written report on the situation in his area, pointing out any difficulties, requesting the services of indoor or outdoor speakers, indicating the movements of the enemy, making suggestions of any step which he thinks it is desirable should be taken, comments on any local persons who have called and offered their support and, above all, an accurate daily summary of the canvass results as the work proceeds.

Regarding the canvass, he must be candour personified. False optimism is the blackest treachery, because it lulls the agent into a sense of false security, and hides up the weak spots where a special concentration of forces is necessary.

At 9 o'clock on the morning after polling day it is the duty of the head of each committee room to be at G.H.Q. with his books, papers, unused stores, any unpaid account in his area, and his final return of expenses for the cashier.

Messengers.

The employment of paid messengers is authorised by the Act, and they must be engaged according to the prescribed scale dealt with in Section 1 of this chapter.

When a messenger is attached to the committee rooms for the entire period of the contest, he will be the committee room clerk's handy man, running messages, assisting in the delivery of handbills and leaflets, reserving seats where necessary at meetings for prominent local people, and arranging the platform.

If, however, he is only engaged for polling day, it will be his duty to be at the polling station not later than five minutes before the opening of the poll to record the register numbers or collect the poll cards of voters as they enter or leave.

It is more convenient if electors can be persuaded to give their register numbers on arrival, and wherever a number is volunteered in this way to a messenger wearing a party favour it may usually be taken as a safe indication of a favourable vote.

There is still, however, considerable disinclination on the part of the electors to recognise that the recording of their numbers at the door is simply for the purpose of discovering who has voted, and not for the purpose of finding out how they voted. The majority will only give their number on leaving, but some refuse altogether.

At short intervals throughout the hours of polling the head of each committee room should receive from the messenger stationed outside the polling station the register numbers of those who have voted. On no account must the messenger himself leave his post, even for meals, unless relieved by a competent substitute.

(4.) O.C. INDOOR MEETINGS.

It requires several days' preparation before a programme of indoor meetings can be put into operation, and the officer in charge of this department must therefore get early to work if the campaign is not to drag in its preliminary stages.

His first task is to prepare a complete list of the halls, schools, cinemas, and other premises suitable for meetings in every polling area in the division. Local and county directories will supply much of the information he requires, but help should also be sought from the Clerk to the Council, the Clerk to the Local Education Authority, and if necessary from the Superintendent of Police.

The O.C.'s plan of campaign—not always capable of complete fulfilment—should be to hold an indoor meeting in every polling area, followed by a return visit, as polling day draws nearer, to enable the candidate to have his final word with the electors.

In choosing halls, the question of cost should be subsidiary to the settled policy of securing the largest halls that can possibly be filled. If the candidate is bringing down well known public men who never fail to attract large audiences the best use should be made of them. The largest hall or theatre should be taken, and arrangement should be made for an overflow meeting in a smaller building near at hand if such a step is justified. No meeting of any kind should be held on licensed premises.

On occasions, I have had erected huge marquees, holding 2,500 people, rather than waste a famous public man on an inadequate audience.

On the other hand, one must never run the risk of having a large hall only half filled. It depresses the speakers, who are never at their best under such conditions. It depresses the audience, for when a hall, even a small one, is filled, it creates the impression that more would have attended if they could have got in, and those present are in consequence conscious of being privileged persons. It wastes money. It transforms a meeting which, in a smaller hall, would have been a complete success, into a comparative failure. Finally, it gives the enemy an opportunity to declare that one's campaign is arousing no interest whatever.

If time does not permit of a complete tour of return visits, the last few days of the fight should be devoted to big meetings in the large centres of population. No district where there is any important industry should be overlooked.

Subject to the general plan of meetings being approved by the agent, the O.C. should have a free hand in making his arrangements. With the co-operation of the O.C. transport, and a carefully timed programme, he ought to be able to provide up to seven meetings a day for the candidate to address.

Meetings for Women.

Women's meetings are now an important feature of elections, and they should be held in the afternoons, commencing not earlier than 2.30, and finishing not later than 4.30. They should be regarded as at least of equal importance with the evening meetings in the O.C.'s programme. Every evening meeting arranged in any area should be preceded by an afternoon women's meeting.

It is the grossest folly to imagine that indifferent speakers are "good enough" for women's meetings. Intelligent women—and they are numerous—are quick to resent such an affront. I have heard agents who have adopted such a policy declare that women would not attend political meetings!

The most able, persuasive, and convincing speakers are well employed in speaking to the women voters. It is erroneous, also, to suppose that women prefer women speakers. They prefer a bright woman to a dull man who is prosy and pompous, and their meetings should always be presided over by a woman, but nobody interests them more than a man of warm, human emotions who understands the lives of women, and can speak to them sympathetically on the interests of their homes and families.

The problem of providing good chairmen of both sexes must be tackled early by the O.C. If possible he should secure the services of influential local men and women.

Then he must prepare a list of speakers willing to assist the candidate during the contest, and the dates and times upon which they can be relied upon to speak. Having all this data he can prepare a provisional programme for the entire campaign.

With four good speakers, six local chairmen, and the co-operation of the O.C. transport he can hold six meetings on any one day without difficulty, the speakers visiting each meeting in turn. It is simply a question of careful timing, reliable cars, and strict adherence by the speakers to the time allotted to them at each meeting. It is, of course, an advantage to have at each meeting one or two additional stationary speakers who can carry on in the event of a breakdown of the cars carrying the "big speakers," or any other dislocation of the programme.

Reception of Speakers.

Many of those who come down to speak will require to be met at the railway station. They are coming as volunteers, and they are entitled to every consideration and attention, however many other worries the O.C. may have. On arrival they should be met by a "flag lieutenant," who must see that a meal is ready for them, hand them a timed programme, escort them from meeting to meeting, and keep them to the scheduled times.

If they are staying in the constituency over night, the O.C. must look well after their creature comforts. On returning from addressing a series of meetings a speaker requires some light and tasty food, and on no account should this be overlooked or delayed. Such expenditure is part of the candidate's personal expenses.

Advertising the Meetings.

It will save a great deal of time and trouble if the O.C. standardises posters and handbills announcing meetings. This enables the O.C. publicity to keep standing in type at the printers a skeleton bill, into which the printer has to drop the lines giving the date, time, and place of meeting, and proceed with the printing at the shortest notice.

The number of posters and handbills ordered must be governed by the population of the area concerned and the opportunities for their display and distribution.

The ordinary ward meetings in the case of a borough are usually held in the Council Schools, and for such meetings five hundred handbills and twenty-five double crown posters should suffice if effectively distributed and displayed.

In the case of village meetings it is usually sufficient to make the announcement by means of handbills alone, particularly if the local committee room man is alive to the various methods of calling attention to approaching meetings. Sometimes, however, posters displayed two or three miles from the village have the effect of bringing in voters from outlying districts.

The village inn is the centre of local gossip, and a few handbills on the table generally secure discussion regarding the forthcoming meeting, and the best possible advertisement is provided free as a result.

It is advisable, when billing the return meetings in any place, to use posters of a different colour to those used for the first meeting. This helps to prevent anyone supposing that the meeting announced has already taken place. The speakers, too, should be varied with the object of awakening new interest.

Preparations for Meetings.

The O.C. should always visit the halls at which his meetings are being held about half-an-hour in advance of his speakers. This enables him to deal with any hitch that has arisen at the eleventh hour, such as the non-appearance of the local chairman and the securing of a substitute. He should also see that proper arrangements have been made on the platform, that water and a glass is provided for the speakers, that the chairman's agenda and form of resolution are on the table, and that every chair in the hall has upon it a propaganda leaflet of some kind. The local committee room clerk should be in attendance to take charge when the O.C. leaves.

As soon as the O.C. has prepared his complete programme of meetings he should prepare a schedule giving full details of halls booked, fees, and to whom payable. This schedule he should pass on to the cashier, who is then able to pay rents, etc.

From the point of view of strategy, it is wise to book more halls than it is certain can be used, partly because additional speakers may volunteer their services as the campaign proceeds, and partly with the object of keeping the other side out. Particularly is it desirable to " bag " the biggest halls in the division for the final rallies on the eve of the poll immediately the date is known. Nevertheless, having booked a hall, every effort should be made to use it, even if the candidate cannot attend. Frequently the mere booking of a hall serves as an announcement to many electors, and they are disappointed if the meeting is not held.

The O.C. must keep a list of the names and addresses of the people who assist as volunteer speakers, and pass the list on to the agent at the conclusion of the campaign, so that a letter of thanks can be sent.

On polling day he should co-operate with the O.C. transport, to whom his knowledge of the polling districts is always invaluable.

(5.) O.C. OUTDOOR SPEAKERS.

Unless public interest in an election is roused by some special local circumstances to an unusually high degree, the agent cannot hope to reach more than a small section of the electorate by means of indoor meetings. He must, therefore, go out into the highways and byways if he is to advance the cause of his candidate amongst that considerable section of the voters which, while quite willing to stand and listen to a speaker in the market place, will not go to a hall.

For this work the agent will require a stalwart band of missionaries possessed of leathern lungs, homely and ready repartee and sound arguments, who will undertake the strenuous work of this very important section of the campaign.

Good men and women for open-air speaking are not easy to find, but they can sometimes be discovered in the ranks of local trade union officials, ex-service men, and barristers, solicitors, and amongst women's and other organisations.

Legal Restrictions.

Before dealing with the organisation of this part of the campaign it is advisable to state the legal limitations with which it is hedged.

The engagement or employment for payment of a speaker to promote the candidature of any person is an offence, and under Section 17 of the Corrupt Practices Act, 1883, the person engaging and the person engaged are guilty of illegal employment. If proved, this is sufficient to avoid an election.

The only payment that can be made to a volunteer speaker is a sum sufficient for reasonable expenses. If such payment is excessive, it may amount to bribery and thus become an offence.

The hiring of motor cars for the purpose of transporting volunteer speakers is not illegal, but such payments must be returned in the election accounts. It must be distinctly understood that no payment may include anything in the way of remuneration of services or refreshment. If it is necessary to provide the speaker with a night's lodging, a dinner on arrival, or a breakfast the following morning, this may be done if such expenditure is part of the candidate's personal expenses and duly included under that head in the statutory return of expenses.

In view of the strictness of the law on this point, the O.C. outdoor speakers should always consult with the agent before incurring any expense whatever in this direction.

The Ideal O.C.

It is highly desirable that the chief of this section should himself be a first-class open-air speaker, with a wide knowledge of public affairs and the political problems of the day. Unlike other chiefs of departments he should then be allowed to choose his own team.

If a local man, he will know all the best open-air pitches in the constituency. The moment the contest is certain he will at once " stake his claim " by holding meetings daily on such pitches at whatever hours are most favourable for securing audiences. If he is a stranger to the division, he will acquire the necessary knowledge at the earliest possible moment.

It is usually wise to visit the local police authorities and consult with them as to whether permission is necessary for the holding of meetings on the desired pitches, or whether any restrictions exist as to hours.

From the various committee room clerks the chief of the outdoor speakers will also obtain details of open-air pitches in other parts of the division, the best times for holding meetings on them, and the class of voter to be expected at such meetings. There may be some big factories or works where meal-time meetings can be held with advantage. These should be tabulated and speakers detailed for the work.

Outdoor speakers are the advance agents of the candidate, and one of their earliest objects should be to create a big audience for the inaugural indoor meeting of the campaign. Days before the first indoor meeting can be held they should be at work creating a favourable atmosphere and keeping the candidate and his views before the electorate.

The best open-air platform is a float or a lorry, the latter for preference in a county division as it can be used for transporting the speakers from pitch to pitch. In a borough it often happens that the only open-air pitch worth bothering about is the market or town hall square, but in a county division there are invariably a good number of pitches, often miles apart, that are well worth cultivating. This means that the allocation of speakers and their transport must be carefully mapped out.

Plan of Campaign.

With a team of from eight to a dozen speakers, the O.C. should be able to set out in a lorry on a tour of the division, and drop two or three speakers successively at each of four or five pitches in the towns and villages to hold meetings, and collect them on the return journey.

Before starting out the speakers for each pitch should draw from the storekeeper a stock poster, mounted on a board, intimating the time and place at which the candidate's speakers will appear. Where possible, this should be displayed near the selected pitch several hours before the meeting.

If opposition is keen it is sound strategy, in political as in military warfare, to concentrate one's forces. Speaking against the determined interruptions of a hostile section of the audience is strenuous work, and four speakers in such circumstances have a better chance of wearing down the opposition than have two.

The O.C., having made himself familiar with the size and character of the crowds at each pitch, will dispose of what forces he has at his command to the best advantage, always endeavouring to allocate his speakers to the crowds they are most likely to influence. He may, for instance, have a speaker of the trade union type on his staff; such a man will naturally secure a more patient hearing at the factory gates than a speaker of the hack orator type.

In this connection, I recall that in the Woolwich by-election of 1921, when Captain Gee, V.C., so sensationally defeated Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the "Red" element was so strong and noisy that I decided, although my team was fully manned, never to divide them up into more than two sections. So valiantly did they hold their ground, in conditions of incessant uproar, that a well-known Labour leader attributed the result of the election mainly to their efforts. In my judgment, the tribute was not exaggerated praise, but had I scattered them over a wide area their influence on the contest would have been dissipated.

Where good open-air pitches are few, I do not advocate a kind of guerilla warfare with the opposition for possession, if it can be avoided. It is much better first to approach the other side and see if some amicable arrangement for holding the pitches in rotation can be made. If such an approach is fruitless, the most vigorous speakers should be instructed to hold the pitch against all comers.

Daily Conference of Speakers.

Throughout the campaign the chief of the out-door speakers will find it an advantage to hold a conference with his team each morning at about 10.30. At the initial conference he must deal with two very important matters.

First, he must point out emphatically to them that it is an offence to make any false statement of fact in relation to the personal character or conduct of a candidate. In the past the courts have passed strong comments on the utterance of statements at a stage in the contest when there remained no time for effective contradiction, and when there were no means of remedying the injury thus caused to a candidate. A mere criticism, however, of public acts in a candidate's political career and conduct, provided it deals simply with his political policy or reputation, does not necessarily come within the category of false statement.

In the second place, the speakers must be made fully aware of every aspect of the candidate's policy, as set out in his election address and leaflets, and they should be instructed to confine themselves as closely as possible to the exposition of that policy.

I always advise the attendance of the candidate at the first conference and, if possible, at all subsequent conferences. This enables the speakers to question him upon points raised at the out-door meetings, where critics are apt to be rather more frank then they are at indoor meetings, and it also enables the candidate to advise the speakers of any new developments as they arise. It is thus helpful to both candidate and speakers, and undoubtedly assists the latter to deal more authoritatively with hecklers.

At such conferences, also, the speakers should be handed any new leaflets issued on behalf of the candidate, and copies of any literature issued by the other side that can usefully receive destructive criticism at open-air meetings. From time to time the O.C. propaganda should attend to "brief" the speakers on the topical subjects with which he is dealing, selecting where desirable special men for special subjects. Often one man is at his best when dealing with food prices; another may specialise in purely political and party issues; while a third may have a special acquaintance with trade and industrial questions.

When such men have been briefed, there must be no stealing of their thunder by other members of the team. Nothing can be more provoking to a specialist in any subject than to find his pet theme being dealt with

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ineffectively by a preceding speaker, who might be doing a great deal more to win votes if he confined himself to his own brief.

The average crowd likes each speaker to make some fresh contribution to the " feast of ideas " at an open-air meeting, and if each speaker sticks to his last, that desired variety can be provided. Speakers, too, must strictly adhere to the prepared time-table, however well they may be " going " with the crowd. Succeeding speakers kept waiting long past their scheduled time are not likely to do themselves justice when at last they do hold the platform.

Securing Topical Speeches.

In order to keep the speakers posted up-to-date with information on current politics, the leading London newspapers, and all other newspapers dealing with the contest, should be placed daily in the speakers' conference room, with specially interesting matter blue-pencilled for their attention. The Press plays such an important part in colouring the intellectual outlook of the public that no speaker can hope to appeal with success to the public mind without some knowledge of the forces that are daily at work shaping its ideas and its ideals.

Writing with a long and crowded experience of public meetings in many causes, I would like to add a word of warning on the weakness of speakers for introducing matter not germane to the cause at issue. Particularly is this true of open-air speakers in political contests. They do not always sufficiently realise that any hostility they unnecessarily provoke, by excursions into the realms of fiery oratory quite outside their candidate's policy, re-acts disadvantageously upon the man whose cause they are supposed to be advancing. Nothing can be more provoking to an agent than to arrive at one of his own open-air meetings and find heated arguments going on between the speaker and members of the audience on an issue that does not matter a row of pins to the candidate.

Open-air meetings, of course, can never resemble drawing-room gatherings. Plain speech is the rule in the market place, and often a speaker has to resort to verbal brutality in order to crush a disgruntled member of the audience who is out deliberately to wreck the meeting. That, however, is no excuse for gratuitously provoking an audience by firing off oratorical squibs that are personal fads of the speaker rather than points in the candidate's programme.

Handling the Heckler.

Above all, a speaker must never lose his temper under the pin-pricks of the heckler. It should be his business to see that the heckler has the monopoly of that folly, for nothing is easier than to make a man in a temper look ridiculous in the eyes of a crowd. The crowd will laugh readily at a heckler who is beaten at repartee, and he may be safely relied upon to disappear without undue delay after adequate discomfiture. Speakers must be specially on guard against the professional heckler, who rarely fails to put in an appearance at modern elections. He calls for very skilful handling if he is to be publicly discomfited by ridicule.

Highbrow politics, it need hardly be said, have no place at open-air meetings. It is hopeless to attempt to hold an audience if the subject matter and the style of delivery be above their heads. The speaker must get down to what is called the man-in-the-street, who likes hard facts and sound common-sense well enough, but who is not attracted by political disquisitions in their more rarified form.

The O.C. will be wise to vary the speakers at each pitch as frequently as possible. If Smith and Jones speak in the market square at the midday meeting, Brown and Robinson should hold the platform at night. Something new always attracts open-air audiences.

If the O.C. is satisfied that his selection of pitches is sound but the audiences are small at the opening of the campaign, he should not feel discouraged. A little extra billing may help to improve matters, but a good team of speakers, if they persist even with no more inspiration than an audience composed of small boys and girls, will soon be talked about, and their later utterances will be listened to by quite good crowds. For this reason speakers should always conclude the meeting by announcing their next visit to the pitch.

Candidates at Open Air Meetings.

With regard to the appearance of the candidate on an open-air platform there is no unanimity of opinion among agents, who undoubtedly assume considerable responsibility by adopting such a course. There is a danger of "cheapening" the candidate. Furthermore due regard must be paid to his voice. Nevertheless, I always contrive to get my candidate on an open-air platform whenever a suitable occasion presents itself. A big crowd, of course, must be assured for the event, and there should be sufficient supporters around to ensure a hearty welcome.

Every morning the candidate should be provided with a programme of the open-air meetings of the day, with a note as to the time such meetings are expected to be best attended. This will enable him to arrive at an opportune moment, receive a good cheer, say a few friendly words mingled with a little politics, and generally convey the impression that he is a " good fellow." If he explains that he was passing on his way to another meeting and could not resist the opportunity of a little talk with them, the audience is usually pleased with the interlude and a good atmosphere is created. If this is properly stage managed, the candidate should be able to drive away amid a roar of cheers.

Eve of Poll Plans.

The day before polling day should be the big field day of the open-air speakers. In suitable divisions it is my plan to hold a 12-hours' " non-stop " meeting on the principal pitch, concentrating all my available forces. Every speaker that can be whipped up for the occasion should be made use of, and if possible the occasional appearance of the candidate himself is desirable.

It is a big task, imposing a severe strain on all concerned, but it is well worth while. Public interest is at its height, and the majority of that considerable section of the electorate without political convictions of a definite character is to be found in the streets at some time of the day. They realise that at last they must make up their minds, and it is the business of the speakers to offer assistance to that end. They should be at their brightest and wittiest.

In this connection, the O.C. should take care when entering into any compromises regarding pitches with the other side at the beginning of the campaign, not to bargain away the principal pitch for the eve of the poll. If it is resolutely contended for by the other side, it must be a joint battle ground.

The organisation of a 12-hours' non-stop meeting calls for a little thought and preparation. Twelve speakers should be able to manage two half-hour speeches each during the day, and the rota should be arranged to give each speaker the maximum interval of rest. The polished speakers should be put up at such times as women are out shopping and good class audiences may be expected, while the less polished speakers—no less valuable to the team and the cause!—should be reserved for the times when the rougher elements may be expected in the crowd. When not actually speaking, some of the team can be usefully employed in distributing leaflets among the crowd.

The Art of Imparting "Pep."

On occasions during the day when the audience is large it may be possible to interpose some well-known M.P. or other popular personality who has come down to assist the candidate at the final rally. This provides a rest for the speakers, and also gingers up the proceedings.

It will hardly be possible for the O.C. to leave the pitch from morning to night. He must see that his men are well fed during their heavy task, and he must have plenty of nourishing and stimulating food at hand for them. In the cold weather I always provide a kind of mess at an adjacent coffee house with hot beef extract, etc., available to the speakers throughout the day.

Open-air speaking is harder work than navvying, and the men who undertake it deserve the greatest care taken of them. The O.C. must see that they are well billetted, and that a generous supply of good food is supplied to them. Good sleep and good food are vital if they are to answer all the calls made upon their energies.

They should have four good meals a day, starting with a substantial breakfast that will last them until after the midday meeting. Then they need a substantial lunch, followed by a rest in the afternoon. Tea should be taken at least an hour before starting out for the evening meetings, and it should be something more than a light repast. When the speakers finish their night's work they need a good hot supper. This meal is perhaps the most essential of the day to men engaged on such work. The times of all the others meal should be arranged to allow a proper period for digestion before the men are called upon to speak.

The eve of the poll ends the work of the open-air team. If they have come from outside the division they should be dispatched home at the close of the final rally, or by the first train the next morning. This clears the committee room for the hard work of polling day, as experience proves that people hanging around on that day with nothing to do are apt to hinder rather than help. To facilitate their departure, the O.C. should have ready a schedule of the speakers' expenses (if any) for payment on the eve of the poll.

(6.) O.C. PRESS, PUBLICITY AND PROPAGANDA.

It is only in recent years that the possibilities of the printed word as a force in election contests have been properly appreciated by the party experts, and it may safely be asserted that the exploitation of this powerful weapon is destined to be considerably extended as time goes on.

In the old days, even the " great " political parties were apt to feel that they had adequately availed themselves of the assistance of the printing presses if they instructed headquarters to dump a few hundredweights of dull and uninteresting leaflets on the unhappy agent entrusted with the party fortunes in any by-election. Now however, Section 34 of the 1918 Act puts a stop to unauthorised propaganda. The appropriateness of such stock leaflets for the particular by-election in progress was no great matter of concern.

The day of machine-made publicity is passing rapidly, if it has not entirely vanished already. Electors can no longer be influenced by tables of Board of Trade statistics, even if they are explained and accompanied by a wealth of ponderous comment. The public, as a result of highly competitive conditions in the newspaper industry, has been educated to receive its political instruction in a more attractive form, and political leaflets, if they are to be read, must present their information in a form no less attractive.

An Important Innovation.

I venture to believe that I have been the humble instrument for impressing this truth upon at least one of the " great " parties of the State. During a recent and important London by-election, the Party headquarters, probably smarting under one or two recent defeats which I had administered, paid a remarkable tribute to the efficiency of my own publicity department. They took the unprecedented step of strengthening their election organisation by the addition of the leading professional publicity expert in the country, Sir Charles Higham—at that time plain Mr. C. F. Higham. He is the most able exponent of the art of salesmanship we have, and what he does not know about publicity is not worth bothering about. The innovation was not altogether unsatisfactory to the party chiefs.

We may take it, therefore, that a great deal more will be heard of the publicity expert in the elections of the future, and no agent's staff can be considered complete without a fully qualified man in charge of this department, capable of dealing with all phases of Press publicity and propaganda, and of acting as an efficient librarian. Particularly must he understand what Disraeli described as " an astute use of the Press."

The ideal man for the post is not always easy to find. He must be widely read on political subjects, yet he must be a great deal more than a party pundit. He must have sound technical qualifications, including a practical knowledge of types, papers, printing lay-outs, and other matters connected with publicity. Above all, he must have a ready pen for the popular exposition of political ideas. Journalistic experience is a valuable qualification, for it will guide him in dealing with the Press-men who come to him for information. He will understand what constitutes a "new story" in a way that no non-journalist ever can.

The Routine Tasks.

At the opening of the campaign there will be a number of routine jobs to be done by the publicity chief, but they need not always be done in a routine way. After having made the acquaintance of the best local printer and the best billposter (preferably those not employed by the other side) his first task will be to get out with the least possible delay a good double crown portrait poster. Whether the candidate is well-known in the division or a complete stranger to the electors, this poster is essential to the campaign.

The portrait should be of a size that only leaves room at the top of the poster for the name of the division, and at the bottom for the words: VOTE FOR JONES—or whatever the name is. In printing the candidate's name on this poster I advocate the omission of all Christian names and titles.

A great deal of care should be taken to make this portrait poster as effective as possible. If there is not a thoroughly reliable lithographic or photogravure printer in the division, the work should be sent to London. No third-rate work should be tolerated at the expense of the candidate's features—not to speak of his chances with the women voters.

The next jobs to be put in hand are the portrait window cards, a handy size for which is 8 in. by 5 in., and the pictorial side of the poll card, the size of which is governed by the size of the envelope mentioned in the instructions of the Postmaster-General regarding free postage of election communications. (This matter is fully dealt with in Chapter 9.)

A Barrage of Print.

With these matters out of the way, and the election address, as finally approved by the agent, safely at the printers, the publicity chief can concentrate on his real task—that of maintaining an unceasing barrage of printed word upon the electors until the very eve of the poll.

The object of this barrage is to break down the natural hostility of the human mind to any new proposition, and the intensity of the barrage must depend on the novelty of the proposition, always remembering that success is determined not by the amount of ammunition expended but by the number of " hits " registered.

Various " weapons " will contribute towards this barrage, but the three principal ones will be the Press matter, election leaflets, and posters. A man who finds a certain political " cry " confronting him in his newspaper each morning at breakfast, finds the same " cry " shouted at him from the hoardings on his way to the station, and discovers another dose in the shape of a leaflet on the mat when he returns home at night, has to put up a stubborn fight if he is to escape the sheer hypnotism of repetition.

The cumulative effect of such a campaign of the printed word is very considerable. It may not modify the views of the mature elector who all his life has held definite political convictions—though at times it accomplishes this—but it certainly influences the large majority whose political opinions are more vague and less deeply rooted.

This mesmeric power of repetition in print is the force which commerce employs for the introduction of a new branded article, and hard-headed business men have such confidence in its effect on the human mind that they do not hesitate to venture a fortune in publicity to influence the public favourably towards the new article. The same force that draws money from the pockets of the public can extract votes from them.

Unity in the Campaign.

A campaign of the printed word, if it is to be successful, must be conceived as a whole. There should be a definite scheme linking up each item of publicity, designed to secure a cumulative effect. Posters by themselves may not be capable of great influence as vote-winners, but as a weapon in the campaign of hitting your man all the time with print, they are vitally important. The snappy message of the poster should crystallise the propositions expounded in leaflets and the Press ; then its influence will be really effective.

The publicity chief will usually find no lack of material for his task. During the course of the election he will receive suggestions from many sources, and much of the material placed at his disposal will require very careful winnowing to separate the corn from the chaff. Printing is expensive, and every penny expended must definitely help the campaign. Cheap " scores " off the other side are not alone sufficient to justify the incurring of printing expenditure. Some of the best suggestions for printed matter will naturally come from the candidate, the agent, and the other chief officers of the election organisation.

The wording of the posters should be as arresting and " catchy " as possible, and none of a vague, obscure, or excessively subtle character should be issued. Their message must " go home " in a flash of the eye or they are useless. They should summarise in a few words the prominent points in the candidate's programme. A few of a humorous character, provided they are in good taste and bear definitely on the campaign, may with advantage leaven the array of posters. It is no bad thing to get the elector smiling, so long as it is certain that he is smiling *with* you. The man who says: " Well, I'm supporting Smith, but there's no mistake about the cleverness of Brown's posters," is half way to the penitent form.

The number of each poster to be printed will be determined by the opportunities for their display, *i.e.*, the number and size of the available hoardings, the number of committee rooms (the windows of which should always be used as a posting station), and the offers from supporters to display posters in the windows and on the walls of their shops and private residences. The use of vehicles of various kinds for the display of posters should not be overlooked.

A Legal Caution.

A legal point arises here. Bills, posters, etc., may be exhibited on the hoardings or in any shop window that the owner allows to be used for that purpose, but payment must not be made to an elector, nor any contract entered into for the use of walls, windows, buildings, etc., for the exhibition of bills unless through an advertising agent who carries out the work in the ordinary course of his business. A non-elector may be paid, but it should be done through a recognised advertising agent.

Thus shopkeepers, bill-posters, and sandwichmen must not be paid for the exhibition of bills except through advertising agents. The hiring of sandwichmen and bill distributors must only be done through a recognised advertising agent, and it is advisable to entrust all the work of this kind to one local man who comes within that category. He may employ extra hands to deal with any rush of work, but the agent must not employ them direct.

It is usual to make terms with the bill-poster at the outset. He will generally contract to post any number of double-crown posters at a specified rate per sheet for the duration of the election. A careful check on the work must be maintained to avoid the waste of printed matter, and in any instance of non-performance of contract the account should be challenged immediately. In order to assure that each hoarding shall present a proper variety, the wise publicity chief will collate and mix the various posters before handing them over.

The state of the weather has some bearing on the question of the number of posters to be printed. Wet and windy weather plays havoc with the hoardings, and often provides an opportunity for a really pertinacious agent to secure an advantage over his more easily discouraged rival. I would suggest at least a thousand portrait posters for use during a normal campaign.

Variety in a poster campaign is eminently desirable. Keep providing some new slogan for the elector. It is better to print a hundred each of fifteen different posters than five hundred each of three posters. Always stick to one colour in your stock or "gag" posters.

A Model for Posters.

Letterpress posters must be harmoniously spaced and not overcrowded. From five to seven words are sufficient, and the contents bills of the London newspapers provide excellent examples of style. Their appearance may be aggressive but never ragged. This is a matter that cannot be left entirely to the printer. The "copy" supplied him must be capable of effective display. The printer is assisted if the publicity man possesses a knowledge of the possibilities of type, and exercises that knowledge when he plans the wording of his poster.

Here I may offer a word of warning on a legal point that is thoroughly well-known, but which is occasionally forgotten by quite experienced agents. The law insists that an imprint, *i.e.*, the name and address of the printer and publisher, shall appear on the face of every bill, placard, or poster issued in connection with an election. For this purpose the word "bill" includes the election address and poll card. If this formality is not observed, the printer, publisher, and bill-poster are guilty of an illegal practice and liable to a fine of £100.

In a recent case it was held that even a newspaper bill, *having reference to an election*, must bear upon the face thereof a full imprint, in addition to the title of the paper. Whether that will continue to be "good law" remains, at the moment of writing, to be seen. It has been generally understood that the purpose of the provision is to check anonymous, scurrillous, and libellous printed matter during the course of an election, and to enable the authorities to trace the source of such statements. To the non-legal mind, the title of a newspaper on its contents bill would appear to be sufficient for the purpose. That, however, is by the way.

Usually the printer may be relied upon to put his imprint upon all election matter that he prints without the need for any reminder, but the publicity chief must see that all stock printed matter, even if bearing only the words: "Committee Rooms" carries an imprint on its face. The most frequent omissions are on large linen posters prepared by sign-writers, who are not so familiar with the legal requirements as are printers.

It is for the publicity chief to decide whether the printer shall also be the publisher for this purpose, and if he has any doubts upon the point he should have inserted the name of the election agent as the publisher.

The Leaflet Campaign.

The poster campaign having been started, it can be developed as the contest proceeds. New posters will inevitably be suggested by new situations as they arise, and it is very unwise to incur all one's poster expenditure at the outset. The next task is to open fire on the electors with leaflets.

This I regard as the really vital feature of the campaign. It is capable of reaching far more electors than any other form of electioneering if effectively carried out, and it can be developed into a weapon far superior to personal canvassing, which the size of modern constituencies and electorates has rendered almost impracticable.

The ideal leaflet campaign consists of a fresh leaflet each day, but if expense prohibits this course, then they should appear at regular intervals throughout the campaign.

The ideal leaflet is one that gives the elector, in homely language, some sound and logical reason why he should vote for a particular candidate. The appeal may be to his patriotism or to his self-interest, but it must be clear and convincing. A feeble argument that immediately suggests its own refutation is a terribly expensive boomerang.

The leaflets should have some kind of continuity in their reasoning. One may be addressed to women with special reference to problems of the home or even to feminist issues; another may be addressed to trade unionists, and yet others to ex-service men, farmers, farm labourers, or to wage-earners in general. Yet through them all should run one definite train of thought that links them up with the candidate's policy.

Both agent and candidate will suggest subjects for leaflets from time to time, and it will be for the publicity chief to deal with those subjects with the greatest economy of words. Some action or manifesto by the opposition or by a local organised body may call for a rejoinder. That rejoinder should be crisp and courteous, but it should be decisive.

Facts before Rhetoric.

Always stick to facts and leave inferences to the readers. Facts, verified by quotations, are more convincing than rhetoric, especially when read in the quietude of the home. But the writer must be sure that his "facts" are facts. Any printed matter that has to be withdrawn later in an apology is extremely damaging to a candidate. It may, if untrue, in substance and in fact, involve the candidate in an action for libel. The safe plan is to steer clear of all personalities.

Experience shows that women are great readers of election leaflets. It may be that the sight of an election leaflet on the mat suggests to the busy housewife a welcome interlude from the toil of the home. If so, her frame of mind will be the more receptive, provided the leaflet attracts by its style and matter.

As each leaflet is written, it should be submitted to the agent for scrutiny from the point of view of the law of libel, and to the candidate for his approval, before its dispatch to the printer. The number to be printed will be determined by the number that can be effectively circulated by means of canvassers, distributions at open-air and indoor meetings, general street distributions, and by door-to-door deliveries from the various committee rooms.

All supplies for committee rooms should be handed to the storekeeper, whose duty it is to have ready sets of labels for their dispatch, each label bearing on its reverse side a number in blue pencil indicating the quantity that the respective committee rooms can effectively circulate. These supplies must be sent immediately by rail, post, carrier, dispatch rider, or whatever other prompt means of communication has been established between G.H.Q. and the committee rooms. Printed matter should never be left hanging about. It should commence its work of influencing the elector the moment it is received from the printer.

It should be remembered that the duties of paid committee room clerks and messengers extend to the distribution of election addresses or notices, and the occasional employment and payment of additional persons for these special purposes is legal, provided the stipulated number of paid clerks and messengers is not exceeded.

Specialised Appeals.

In addition to his posters and leaflets, the publicity chief will probably be called upon to draft a series of circular letters presenting his candidate's case to a number of organised industrial, religious, commercial, and other bodies in the division. Before doing so he will make himself thoroughly familiar with the interests of each body, and carefully consider how those interests will be affected by the policy of his candidate. Ambiguity, which in such matters always arouses suspicion, is to be studiously avoided, and where there is obvious opposition between the candidate's policy and the programme of the organised body, it should be frankly faced and presented in as favourable a light as possible.

This can usually be done without any suggestion of hypocrisy. Suppose, for instance, that a candidate stands for, *inter alia*, the removal of licensing restrictions, and he is presenting his case to a temperance organisation. In such a case he may fairly say that, in his opinion, unreasonable licensing restrictions lead to hasty and excessive drinking, and are therefore contrary to the interests of true temperance, which he has at heart. Such a plea may not satisfy the officials of the temperance organisation, but it may weigh considerably with the members, who are rarely so implacable as their officials.

The Poll Card.

Other printing matter that will pass through the publicity chief's hands is of a more routine character. He will, for instance, send early to the printer his " copy " for the poll cards. These will usually follow some such form as that set out below :—

BY-ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 192 .

Polling Hours : a.m. to p.m. on day the of

Your Register No. is

AND YOU SHOULD RECORD YOUR VOTE AT

MARK YOUR BALLOT PAPER THUS :

BROWN	
SMITH	X

Imprint.

VOTE FOR

PHOTO BLOCK.

SMITH.

Kindly give this Card to Mr. Smith's Representative outside the Polling Station after you have voted.

Mechanical Numbering.

The numbering of the poll cards and the insertion of the various polling stations should be done by the printer from the list supplied by the committee rooms. About a thousand extra poll cards, with numbers and polling stations omitted, should be printed for the use of the committee room clerks on polling day, when many electors who have removed or who have lost their poll cards, call to ascertain their number.

Other routine printing matter to be dealt with are the posters and handbills announcing meetings, the details of which will be supplied from time to time by the O.C. indoor meetings. The work in this connection can be reduced to a minimum by the use of a standardised form of poster and handbill, on which the time and place of meeting and the names of speakers and chairman can be altered as required. The adoption of this plan not only saves expense, but it also assists the printer to expedite the work. He is able to keep the body of the matter standing in type, and has only to set the altered lines in order to proceed to press.

The number to be printed will naturally be governed by the size of the town or village in which the meeting is to be held, but, except in the case of a big town where noted speakers are to appear, from fifteen to twenty-five posters and about 250 handbills should prove sufficient.

Another rather more important printing item is the "Final Word" to the electors. As this concerns the candidate and the agent, as well as the publicity chief, it is dealt with in a separate chapter. (See page 173.)

The only safe plan in handling all this printing is to have a numbered order book, and to issue a written order, the carbon duplicate of which should be retained, for every printing job given out. This enables invoices to be properly checked, which experience proves is not altogether unnecessary in the rush of an election contest.

Handling the Press.

One other very important duty which frequently falls to the lot of the publicity chief is that of rendering assistance to the representatives of the Press who call for information. Where the publicity chief undertakes this duty, he must be given full authority to speak on behalf of the candidate, otherwise it is better for the agent to interview the Pressmen. Nothing is more time-wasting to a newspaper man than to be handed over to a subordinate who lacks the authority to reply to questions.

The whole attitude of election agents towards the Press has undergone a considerable change in recent years. Time was when reporters were regarded as a nuisance, and those representing opposition newspapers were refused all information. Now the wise agent and the aspirant to parliamentary honours treats a reporter, whatever may be the political bias of his paper, with marked courtesy.

This is a thoroughly sound policy. Reporters, as reporters, have no politics. They write, as they must, to suit the papers they serve. Their job is to get " news " for their employers. To blame them for the policy of their papers is not only mean and unfair ; it is unwise. The reporter who is against you in one election may by the time of the next election have changed his paper and be your best supporter, or you may next time be on his side.

As a class, few bodies of men are more impartial and free from bias. They meet public men of all opinions and they naturally cultivate the " cross-Bench " mind. Treat them fairly and honestly, and they will mete out the same treatment to you. Above all, try to understand their needs.

What Reporters Need.

It is no use protesting that you cannot get anything favourable to your cause in a particular newspaper if you offer their representative, when he calls, nothing more useful than bigoted party opinions. He may listen politely to you, because most newspaper men are instinctively polite, but if he were to be perfectly candid he would tell you that you are wasting your own time and his. What he really needs is material for an election " story," and that " story " is all the more welcome to his paper if it contains a preponderance of facts and human incidents rather than political opinions, however important the latter may appear to you.

It is only by a proper appreciation of this fact that you can make an " astute use of the Press." The theatrical Press agent thoroughly understands the point. He never wastes his time trying to secure the publication of paragraphs about the wonderful voice or the dainty dancing of Miss S——. He knows that they would go direct on to the sub-editor's " spike." He proceeds more subtly to work (by talking of the play in which she is appearing) with the result that an interested world becomes fully acquainted with the fact that she makes the play, and so on. The same with a candidate. Talk of his policy, his activities, and his qualifications, the photographs and " write ups " will follow as a natural sequence.

The election publicity expert must be equally considerate of the needs of newspapers, and if he is reasonably alert he can provide " stories " without the slightest assistance from his imagination. Election contests are full of human incidents. It may be that the candidate's old nurse turns up, or an old soldier that served under fire with him puts in an appearance, or he calls on a centenarian voter, or his little daughter makes a speech of three words on the " Vote for Daddy " theme. Such incidents happen by the dozen, and properly " dressed " they make paragraphs in an election " story." Don't imagine that publicity is useless unless it has " Vote for So-and-So " all over it. Any kind of publicity that gets the name of your candidate in the papers is useful.

Again, the newspaper man will always welcome facts from you. If prominent local men have declared themselves on your side, he will be glad to know of it. Any fact, as distinct from party opinion, that concerns the contest will be received with gratitude.

Regular Press Conference Hours.

Frequently he has very little time at his disposal in which to gather the materials for his " story." Help him all you can. Have regular Press conference hours at which you are instantly available. I always make a point of being available to the Press at 11.0 a.m., 2.30 p.m., and 6.0 p.m., and later if necessary. This meets the needs of both morning and evening newspaper men.

It is a good plan to keep a " Press file," available at all times to accredited newspaper correspondents. In this file should be placed copies of all election literature issued on the candidate's behalf, lists of all meetings, conferences, and receptions of deputations, and copies of all inward and outward letters that possess a news value.

Occasionally, possibly frequently, the newspaper men will ask for some pronouncement from the candidate on a particular point, or they may desire a personal interview with him. As far as the candidate's programme will allow, these facilities should be granted ungrudgingly.

Press photographers will also require assistance. It is wise to arrange to meet them early each morning at the central committee rooms and give them an itinerary of the candidate's movements for the day. They will select the events they would like to " cover," and whatever facilities are possible should be accorded them. Sometimes it may be possible to allow one or more photographers to accompany the candidate on his car to an outlying district for the purpose of taking a picture. Such favours should be distributed with an impartial hand. Often, when only one can be taken, it is wise to allow the Pressmen to select their representative. What the publicity chief should remember is that in helping the Pressmen he is helping his candidate. Every photograph published is valuable free publicity.

The Modern Pressman.

Above all, treat Pressmen on the assumption that they are gentlemen. You will usually be right. The modern journalist is not out collecting free drinks or free anything. His chief concern is with his work and he declines to be patronised. The highest in the land meet him on occasions and treat him on terms of equality. All he wants from you are reasonable facilities for the discharge of his important duties.

There is one point that usually arises for consideration as polling day arrives. Immediately after the declaration of the poll, the journalists are required by their editors to extract from the candidates some declaration on their victory or defeat. As the result of the poll is often declared at a late hour, when candidates are always tired and often elusive, and when moments are precious to newspapers, journalists often ask the day before for alternative statements for use as required. This may seem a strange procedure to the general public, but one has to realise the difficulties under which modern Press work is carried on. I can only say that if statements on " Why I won " and " Why I lost " are made available to journalists before the declaration of the poll, they can always be trusted to make a discreet and proper use of them.

I speak with some confidence on this matter, as I am well-known to Pressmen all over the country, and in a fairly lengthy experience of intimate work with the Press I have never been " let down " by them.

When the Entire Press is Hostile.

A consideration of the relations between an election organisation and the Press would not be complete without some reference to those comparatively rare occasions when it is impossible to obtain fair play from the newspapers interested in the contest. It is a serious position that an agent cannot ignore. On three occasions in my experience as an agent it has been necessary for me to publish my own newspaper during the period of the election rather than allow a hostile Press to have matters all their own way.

It is an expensive procedure, of course, and involves considerable labour, but it should be resolutely faced if the necessity arises. If printed daily, four quarto pages should suffice, or eight pages if printed weekly. A telling title should be selected, and it should be made up to resemble as closely as possible an ordinary newspaper.

It will have appeared so far that the post of publicity chief in an election organisation is not exactly a sinecure. Yet more remains of his duties. As librarian it will be his business to be a veritable mine of blue books, white papers, Hansards, and Press cuttings. He must be a great reader of newspapers and reviews, familiar with every movement in the political world, and must have the gift of readily absorbing everything that will serve the immediate cause for which he is working.

“ Briefing ” Others.

His presence at the conference of the open-air speakers each morning is essential. On those occasions he will call their attention to anything in the newspapers that may be helpful to the speakers, and he will hand them copies of all the leaflets he issues.

Sometimes he will be called upon to “ brief ” the candidate on points that necessitate reference to official documents or other publications, and frequently he will take such action on his own initiative in order to strengthen the campaign. When useful matter is unearthed in this way, it should be made instantly available to candidate, speakers, and Press, in order to secure full effect by concerted action.

The political publicity man is the “ soul ” of the electoral fighting machine. If he is the right man for the job, he is also a pearl beyond price. But he cannot be made in the course of one election.

Press cuttings books will be supplied to him, and therein he should have pasted all the press cuttings he receives from the Press cutting agency, and any he receives direct. This book should always be up-to-date. After the contest it is usual to present the book to the candidate as a record of the election. Before doing so, however, the book should be completed by inserting a copy of each poster and leaflet which can be obtained from the storekeeper's file copies. The agent on the other side will usually exchange copies of printed documents.

(7.) O.C. CANVASSERS AND REMOVALS.

The canvass is one of the most anxious problems that confronts the agent in modern elections. The willingness of supporters to undertake such work undoubtedly decreases at every election, while the disinclination of the voter to disclose his intentions shows a parallel growth. Every polling day one discovers that large numbers of the voters decline even to surrender their polling cards to the checkers at the doors, for fear of affording some clue as to the candidate for whom they have voted.

It might be no bad thing if canvassing were made illegal during election contests, though the difficulties of enforcing such a provision are obvious. There is, unquestionably, something about canvassing that appears not quite consistent with the spirit of a secret ballot.

On the other hand, there are a number of voters who resent the fact if they are not asked for their votes or called upon.

" If it is too much trouble to ask me for my vote, it cannot be needed very badly," they say, and accordingly they decline to go to the poll.

While many electors regard the canvass as a nusiance and an unwarrantable intrusion, it undoubtedly helps to create interest in the contest, to provoke discussion on the candidates and their politics, and to remind electors that they are on the register.

Other methods of electioneering, more especially the wider use of the printed word, have lessened the importance of the canvass in the eyes of the modern agent, and although he cannot afford altogether to ignore such a weapon, he does not impose a blind faith in its results, which are frequently very misleading.

Utilising the " Earnest Worker."

I have made it clear in an earlier chapter that practical experience is all in favour of the agent gathering around him a small staff of thoroughly efficient officers rather than a large retinue of enthusiastic amateurs. The canvass, however, is a branch of the campaign in which "earnest workers" can be of real service. In fact, one cannot have too many of them.

The organisation of the canvass in a division of (say) 30,000 voters is no small task, and to carry out such a canvass completely must be a rare achievement. Obviously the measure of completeness depends upon the machinery at the disposal of the agent.

When the candidate has the support of a well-organised local political association, the prospects of securing an adequate band of canvassers are materially enhanced. To the agent of a candidate lacking such support, anything approaching a complete canvass may safely be regarded as impossible, unless extraordinary enthusiasm is aroused, Normally, an agent in such a situation may regard himself fortunate if he contrives to canvass 40 per cent. of the electorate.

Where the candidate is a member of a local political association, it is prudent for the association to dissolve formally for the period of the election and not to hold any meetings as an association during that period. This leaves the members free to offer their services individually as canvassers, and avoids any risk of contravening Clause 84 of the Representation of the People Act, which provides that no person other than the election agent shall incur any expense in holding public meetings, etc., for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of any candidate, unless authorised by the agent to do so. Such expense would then have to be returned as part of the election expenses in the statutory return.

By dissolving the association, control of the election arrangements is confined to the election agent, who is bound by law to protect his candidate from any risks arising through the unauthorised or illegal acts of organised bodies.

The Type of " Chief."

The choice of an O.C. canvassers and removals should be made with care. He handles more volunteer workers than any other officer of the election organisation, and he has need of infinite tact if he is to get the maximum amount of work out of them. Unpleasant districts have to be dealt with, and wounded feelings have to be soothed continually. The best type of man to negotiate these hurdles is one of good appearance and address, especially as a large proportion of the volunteers are frequently women.

The usual type of man for the job is the registration agent of a local political association, or an expert from headquarters. Failing either of these, a satisfactory substitute can generally be found in the ranks of the local insurance agents.

He would be wise to refuse no offer of help. There is always canvassing to be done, and a few hours of enthusiastic assistance in this direction may be as valuable as a whole day's canvassing undertaken without any real zeal.

At the earliest possible moment in the campaign the O.C. canvassers must call his volunteers together, allot them to their areas, and give them instructions as to the best method of carrying out the canvass and registering the information they elicit, in order to provide the agent with an index of the maximum reliability as to the views of the electorate.

He must impress canvassers with the importance of strict impartiality in recording the views of electors. Sometimes an enthusiastic canvasser, anxious for the success of the candidate, returns with wonderful stories of overwhelming support, which are later proved to be unjustified by the facts. Such misguided optimism is really the basest treachery to the agent. It lulls him into a sense of false security if he accepts it as fact, and it robs him of the opportunity of making an effort to counteract adverse feelings that remain undisclosed.

Canvassers may be as optimistic as they choose when discussing the candidate's prospects with electors; to the agent or his departmental chief they should be coldly analytical and dispassionate.

Legal Restrictions on Canvassers.

He must also be careful to remind them of the legal limits of their function, otherwise they may become a source of danger. Their primary duty is to solicit votes on behalf of the candidate, and in doing so they must strictly refrain from any form of "undue influence," such as a gift of refreshment of any kind, the promise of any advantage, the threat of any loss, or the gift of any marks of distinction such as flags, ribbons, rosettes, or election favours. The issue to each canvasser of the set of instructions printed, reading: "Instructions and Warning to Canvassers" (copies of which can be supplied by the publishers of this book) is strongly recommended as a necessary precaution.

The agent is legally responsible for the acts of the canvassers he recognises. He must not pay them in money or in kind, nor may he provide them with refreshment. No equivalent for money value, no present given or promised, nor any consideration of any other nature is permissible.

It is a doubtful question whether an employer of labour could allow his employees, during *his* time, to engage in canvassing for a candidate without a deduction of salary for the time they were so engaged. Until the point has been decided it will remain inadvisable to accept such assistance if it is offered.

Recording Canvassing Results.

Two methods of recording canvassing results are at present in use: one by means of canvass cards, the other by means of a canvass book.

The latter method consists of taking a register of electors which is printed on one side only, cutting out complete streets and fixing them on the left-hand pages of exercise books, leaving the right-hand pages vacant for the insertion against each name of such remarks as "For," "Against," "Doubtful," "Dead," and "Removed."

This system is much cheaper than the single card system, and certainly takes less time to prepare. The books can be prepared by any ordinary clerk while the single card system calls for highly efficient clerical labour. Nevertheless, where a local organisation is permanently maintained, the single card system is frequently preferred and kept in constant readiness.

It is, of course, the ideal system. A card is provided for each elector, bearing his full name, register number, qualifying address, and polling district code letter. It also has a space in which the result of the canvass is to be recorded. A specimen canvass card is printed below :—

Name (as on Register) ....
Address on Register ....
Registered No...............................

For	Against.	Doubtful.	Dead.	Removed.

Canvasser's Remarks :

Signed...

(Imprint.)

MEMO. TO CANVASSERS.

Do not leave this card with the elector.

Before you put a cross in any of the columns be sure that the elector's answer is definite.

In the case of doubtfuls make some remarks as to why the elector is in this frame of mind.

In the case of removals endeavour to obtain the new address and note same in remarks space.

If too ill to vote, also make a note.

If the elector requires fetching please put in the remarks column the time at which the conveyance is to be sent. Be sure that the elector really needs conveyance.

Do not at any time promise a gift of money or any other consideration to vote or not to vote.

It must be distinctly understood that under no circumstances can you be paid or remunerated for your work, and you do not in any way act as an agent of the candidate.

Preparing the Single Card System.

In the case of borough divisions and the towns of county divisions the registers are printed in street order, with the houses in numerical order, but in the case of scattered districts the electors' names are usually given in aphabetical order. It is an economy of time, therefore, when preparing a single card system to place the cards face downwards, as they are filled in from the register, and to band each street together as it is completed. The bundles can then be kept in polling districts and issued to the various committee rooms ready for use.

When the cards relating to scattered districts arrive at their proper committee room, someone possessing a thorough knowledge of the area can quickly sort them into whatever order effects the greatest economy in the canvassers' time and shoe leather.

As the cards are issued to canvassers a record should be kept on the proper form, and their return to the committee room should be similarly noted. It will be found unwise to issue to a canvasser more cards than it is reasonable to suppose that he can complete in a given time.

If canvassers are supplied with red, blue, and black pencils, they may mark their cards in the following manner. A favourable reply or a definite promise can be indicated with a red tick, a declared opponent with a blue tick, and a doubtful or "won't say" elector with a black tick.

The remarks column should be used for such observations as the new address in the case of removals, and particulars of persons requiring fetching to the poll.

With regard to those who stubbornly refuse to vote it is rarely any use wasting time on an attempt to convert them. They are usually cranks or such opponents of the parliamentary system of government as "Communists," and are little likely to be converted by argument.

Promises of Cars.

The remarks column should also be used for noting those who through ill-health, pressure of business, distance from the polling station or other sound cause, require to be conveyed by car. Promises to send cars should be made with judgment and not recklessly if they are all to be fulfilled on polling day. Astute political opponents have been known to organise a demand for cars in order to monopolise a rival's transport system on polling day, and a wary eye should be kept for such conspiracies.

The canvasser should carry a selection of leaflets and use them whenever they appear likely to be of service in influencing an elector. Often a leaflet deals with a point raised by a voter and thus assists the canvassers in clearing away doubts and settling disputed points.

Canvassing in the day-time has become more useful now that women have the vote. The afternoon, when household duties are over, is the best time for the canvasser—who should also be a woman—to call. In many cases the canvasser can learn after a few minutes chat with the housewife the political intentions of every elector in the household. Such information may generally be accepted as reliable.

It is desirable that canvassers should report to the committee room each night at the conclusion of the day's canvassing. Only in this way can the O.C. compile an up-to-the-minute canvass return each night, and provide the agent with food for thought at supper. The O.C. should question canvassers as to the points raised and the views expressed by the electors on whom they have called. This provides further guidance to the agent, and often suggests the issue of a leaflet on some question that is agitating the minds of the electors.

Registering the Canvassers' Reports.

When the committee room clerk receives the canvassers' reports each night, he should immediately proceed to mark his wall sheet in accordance with the canvass cards or books, and make similar entries in his register of electors. This would appear to be unnecessary duplication, but the wisdom of such a course will appear later.

When canvass cards are used, they should be sorted into groups of " For," " Against," etc., while those marked " Out " should be put back for a further call by the canvasser.

With these operations completed, the committee room clerk is in a position to prepare his daily canvass return, which should be passed on to the O.C. canvassers without delay, so that he can compile that night his daily summary of canvass returns for submission to G.H.Q. A copy of the form used for this purpose appears on page 135.

No................

..................................*Election* 19....

......................................*Polling District or Ward.*

....*Address.*

DAILY CANVASS RETURN

made up to the time of closing the Committee Room on the day of

For	Against	Doubtful	Dead	Removed

Total Number Canvassed to date.......................................

Total Number yet to be Canvassed.......................................

Total Number of Electors on Register
for Polling District or Ward ....

Signature of Officer in Charge.......................................

On the eve of the poll each committee room will present its final canvass return to the O.C. canvassers, and the figures must reach the agent by the most confidential means available. If the telephone is used for the purpose, a code should be previously decided upon, as accidental " listening-in " is not unknown.

On polling day, the canvassers can render valuable service in the areas they have canvassed. They can assist in directing the cars in the work of bringing supporters to the poll, and in calling on voters who have promised support to see that their promises have been duly honoured. The knowledge gained by canvassers during their work is also valuable in preventing the misuse of cars by supporters and the use of cars by known opponents.

(8.) THE O.C. TRANSPORT

Armies, we are told, march on their stomachs. The warriors of the modern political fighting machine must march on petrol. The whole scheme of electioneering, as it has developed in these days of short and intensive campaigns, depends for its perfect execution on a carefully planned system of transport. The O.C. transport is therefore a " key " man in the organisation.

When the O.C. indoor meetings prepares his daily programme, arranging for the candidate and other speakers to follow each other on half a dozen platforms in different parts of the division in one evening, he must do so in co-operation with the O.C. transport, who will have worked out all the distances and times, and planned a service of cars to meet his colleague's needs.

It should be laid down as an iron rule at the opening of the contest that no expense incurred for transport will be recognised except through the O.C. transport. This officer will arrange for the daily transport of (1) the candidate, (2) the agent, (3) the outdoor speakers, (4) the indoor speakers, and (5) the printed matter and communications between G.H.Q. and the outlying committee rooms.

The Candidate's Transport.

He will thus be required to get to work early in the campaign. His first task will be to see that the candidate is well and creditably " mounted." If the candidate brings his own car and chauffeur, all that will be necessary is the provision of a pilot for the first few days of the campaign, in cases where the chauffeur is a stranger to the division. Often enthusiastic youths can be found to act as pilots for the sake of the ride or for the sake of being of some service to the candidate's cause. Enthusiasm, however, should not be accepted as a substitute for a thorough knowledge of the division. If necessary, an unemployed local chauffeur should be engaged and paid, and his services can be charged as those of a messenger, provided the prescribed number of paid messengers be not exceeded. Under the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act a messenger would appear to be a person who runs errands, and the course I suggest with regard to the payment of pilots would not, therefore, unduly strain the meaning of the section.

If the candidate does not bring his own car, the O.C. transport must provide him with the most comfortable vehicle available. The charge for this is to be included in the candidate's personal expenses, whether paid for by the candidate or his agent.

The effective supervision of the election machinery by the agent is also to a large extent dependent on the transport facilities accorded him. His time is precious and he has much to do. He will probably desire to pay daily visits to all the committee rooms and open-air meetings, and he will have numerous calls to pay at the houses of prominent supporters, the offices of organised bodies, and so on. The O.C. transport must see that he is not delayed by lack of transport facilities.

Transporting Speakers.

In a borough division the transport of the open-air speakers will be a simple matter. Public conveyances usually suffice. In a county division, however, there will be an extensive area to cover, and in this case it will be necessary to provide vehicles that will serve the double purpose of platforms and a means of transport to the various open-air pitches selected throughout the division.

The voluntary speakers who visit the division to assist at the indoor meetings in the afternoons and evenings will frequently bring their own cars and, subject to the provision of pilots, they will be able to carry out their share of the arranged programme without assistance from the O.C. transport. He may even arrange for a visitor to " travel " another speaker, and thus help to economise on the general transport scheme.

In preparing this scheme, after a careful calculation of distances and times, the O.C. transport will be wise to make an allowance for breakdowns. Nothing is more painful than the spectacle of a speaker who has exhausted his subject being kept on his feet " gagging " until the arrival of the speaker who is to follow him. Such contretemps should be carefully guarded against.

The O.C. indoor meetings will look to his transport colleague to take charge of each speaker at the beginning of the afternoon or evening and produce him at the halls in which he is to speak at least five minutes before he is scheduled to address the meeting. If this scheme is worked perfectly, there will be no awkward delays or " stage waits " at any of the meetings.

Transport of Printed Matter.

The transport of communications and printed matter between G.H.Q. and the various committee rooms will call for the co-operation of the O.C. transport. Often public conveyances and carriers will be utilised by the storekeeper, but whenever a car is starting out on any route, enquiries should be made to see if there are any letters or packages which the chauffeur can deliver without going too far out of his way.

Quite early in the campaign the O.C. transport will begin to prepare his plans for the conveyance of voters to the poll on polling day. In this connection he has to remember that in no circumstances can the plain provisions of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act be circumvented. Whatever plans he makes, he must not hire, directly or indirectly, any conveyance for the purpose of conveying voters to the poll. It is illegal to let or hire, lend or borrow, employ or use, for the purpose of conveying electors to or from the poll, any public or hackney carriage or any horse or other animal used for the purpose of letting out on hire.

On one occasion an enthusiastic friend sent me seven cars for use on polling day, and I afterwards discovered that they had been hired by him. It was absolutely illegal, of course, and if the other side had raised the point it would have rested upon myself and the candidate to prove our ignorance of the circumstances and trust to the indulgence of the court.

Law of Polling Day Cars.

It is thus clear that the only car which can be used for conveying electors to the poll is one that is a private car in the full sense of the word, and is lent by the owner without payment, fee, or reward, or consideration of any kind. The agent may not pay for the petrol of such cars, nor the board, lodging, refreshment, or remuneration of the driver. It is a point of interest, however, that voters going to or returning from a poll in county elections are exempt from toll on turnpike roads situate in the county of the election.

It is also illegal to make any payment to an elector who has removed from the division, to enable him to travel to the division for the purpose of registering his vote. Occasionally an agent receives such an application from a distant voter who declares his anxiety to support the candidate if the trifling difficulty of the fare can be overcome. There is only one answer to such applications: It is illegal.

"Fetchers" who fetch persons to the poll cannot be paid either in money or in kind, but persons who are employed as pilots can rank as messengers provided the legal number is not exceeded.

The polling day car service being entirely dependent on the kindness of friends owning cars, the O.C. transport should lose no time in compiling a list of possible lenders, both in the division and among the friends of the candidate outside the division. To these should be sent an appeal, signed by the candidate, in something like the following terms:—

> DEAR SIR OR MADAM,
>
> POLLING DAY (Date)
>
> It would be of the greatest assistance to me to have the use of private vehicles for the conveyance of voters to and from the poll.
>
> I should be very much obliged if you could lend a motor or a carriage on the polling day for as long a time as possible.
>
> If you should be able to comply with this request, may I ask you to kindly return me the enclosed form?
>
> I need hardly point out to you how important it is to poll every elector to ensure victory, and how essential a large fleet of cars is to bring this about.
>
> Would it be too much to ask you to let the conveyance report to me late on the evening *before* the poll.
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> (Signed) (Candidate).
>
> P.S.—The Parliamentary Election Act, of 1883 prohibits the use (for conveying voters to and from the poll) OF ANY ANIMAL OR VEHICLE WHICH IS KEPT FOR HIRE OR OCCASIONALLY LET OUT ON HIRE.

The Car Census.

It is a good plan to enclose with such letters, in addition to a stamped addressed envelope, the card shown on page 141 to be filled in by those willing to lend cars, indicating the type of car, its seating capacity, whether a chauffeur will be sent with it, the length of time it will be available for service, and whether it can be sent into the division over-night.

To (Candidate's Name and Address).

I shall be pleased to lend the following cars or conveyances on polling day.

Description of Car or Conveyance.	Seating Capacity (excluding driver).	Time for which available.

*I should prefer the above to work in the District of ....

*You may place the above where you think best.

Instructions as to where cars or conveyances should be sent should be addressed to......................................
at ....

(Signed)..

Address...

*Please strike out the line that does not apply.

Imprint.

With these cards completed, the O.C. transport will know his exact position with regard to a polling day service of cars, and he will be able to prepare a schedule allocating the cars to the various polling districts of the division on the strict basis of the number of voters.

Every promise of a car should be promptly acknowledged, and information sent as to the assembly point at which the chauffeur should report. The O.C. should receive each car on arrival, see to its decoration with ribbons, and affix a number to it. It should then be drafted to the district to which it has been allocated. It should be remembered that the gift of an election favour to the driver of a loaned car is a corrupt practice.

It is a great advantage to have one's cars in the division over-night, and where owners are willing to stand the expense of this the chauffeurs should be advised of a suitable garage and lodging.

On Polling Day.

Once the poll is open, the O.C. must see that no car is idle for a moment. If the canvassers have done their work properly there should be more than enough work for every available car. In co-operation with the committee room staffs, the O.C. should see that voters are being continually collected in car-loads on a carefully planned system, so that the maximum service is obtained from each car. While the car is on its way to the polling station, a canvasser should be getting another load ready to await its return.

The extravagant use of any car must be avoided. Often an isolated voter at a considerable distance from the poll asks for a car to be sent to fetch him. The reply should always be that it will be done if possible. If the car can be more usefully employed nearer home bringing a large number of voters to the poll, the O.C. should not authorise its dispatch on a long trip for the sake of one vote.

If extra cars arrive unexpectedly, they should be at once allocated to the districts in which they are found to be most needed.

It may happen that some of the cars are available for a few hours only. A doctor, for instance, may be prepared to lend his car, and possibly drive it, for a part of the day. Such assistance, if it comes during the busy hours, is most valuable and should be made the best use of. People who offer their services at such times do not mind being kept busy. They rather regard it as true appreciation and feel that their time has not been wasted.

It usually happens that every committee room is clamouring for cars on polling day, and the O.C. transport has to keep a cool head if he is to do justice to his job. So long as every car is kept busy he need have nothing with which to reproach himself, but he should come down heavily on the committee room that, through lack of proper preparation, fails to make the fullest use of the cars allotted to it.

Returning Thanks for Loaned Cars.

The loan of a car on polling day is an act of generosity and magnanimity that deserves the most cordial acknowledgment. No one really likes to lend a car for such a purpose, and no one experienced in elections will wonder why. The least that the O.C. transport can do, therefore, is to have ready for postage at the close of the poll a warm letter of thanks to the lenders, who will appreciate such an acknowledgment the more for its promptness. This letter should be signed by the candidate.

> MY DEAR MR(S)..
>
> How can I thank you for your great kindness in lending me your car on polling day. *I am confident that it contributed in no small degree to the size of my majority.
>
> Ever so many thanks,
> Yours very truly,
>
> Signed (Candidate).
>
> * *If I had had the support of a few more friends like yourself the result would have been a majority over my opponent.*

(9.) O.C. WOMEN ELECTORS' DEPARTMENT

Since the passing of the 1918 Act, women have become such an important factor in elections that it is well worth the agent's while to make a special effort, quite apart from the general campaign, to enlist their sympathy on behalf of his candidate.

The best political agent yet discovered cannot be expected to appreciate the more subtle points of woman's mentality and psychology in quite the same way that a really capable and shrewd member of their own sex can do. For this reason, I strongly advocate the enlistment of the services of some local or other public woman to assist the agent in influencing the women electors.

If the co-operation can be secured of some popular woman who is active in such organisations as the local Women's Institutes, the Women's Co-operative Guilds, or other women's organisations, it is of inestimable value to the agent. She will know what questions are agitating the minds of the women electors, and what forces have been at work in the past to mould their outlook on political issues. Advice on these matters is of enormous help to the agent in the preparation of his campaign of leaflets and meetings so far as women are concerned.

A short time ago, a well-known lady contended in an article that the enfranchisement of women has done much more than simply increase the number of voters; it has fundamentally altered the character of electorates. Women, she claimed, have brought politicians back to a sense of realities by their demand for practical politics of a kind that have some bearing on the problems of the larder and the home, as against the vague issues of "high politics."

I believe that contention to be thoroughly sound. More and more, as years go on, the election agent will be obliged to take into account the woman's view of politics, and it may well be that the time is rapidly approaching when woman's attitude on any issue will be the decisive factor in parliamentary contests.

How Women Vote.

At the moment, women are the unknown quantity in elections. There is not yet sufficient data on which to base an estimate of their ultimate effect upon politics. Only the very old, or the very young, election agent will speak with confidence of how women will vote on any issue. It is sometimes declared that they may be relied upon to give "safe" votes, that they will not support anything tending to social upheaval or international dispute.

Experience in a good many elections since the enfranchisement of women has convinced me that they cannot be "relied upon" to vote in any particular direction. They can be delightfully perplexing in their political decisions. Mere man can only look on and marvel.

In one respect, however, the claim that women would "purify" politics has been justified by results, though not, perhaps, in quite the way anticipated. I am convinced that women have sounded the death-knell of mud-slinging and unfair tactics in elections.

The agent of the future who imagines that he can snatch a victory by exposing some domestic or other scandal concerning the opposing candidate may receive a rude shock. Instead of exciting woman's horror, he may excite her interest and sympathy. Women often have a perverse sympathy with the "wicked" man, and a " spice of the devil " is not always a bar to their favour. Possibly they think that a man " with a past " may also be a man with a future. This trait in the character of women has been demonstrated hundreds of times in big criminal trials, and I could give many proofs of its operation in politics.

I well recall that in one election, when a personal attack of a peculiarly dastardly character was made on my candidate in the hope of discrediting him with women electors, they rallied to his support in a wonderful way and ensured for him a record majority.

Women realise that many of the most virile and attractive men, the men who really accomplish things in life, have in their youth been guilty of escapades that men with less generous and less impulsive natures contrive to avoid. In their judgments of such men, women are apt to be not unkind.

Woman's Chivalry.

This " chivalry " of women was demonstrated once again in the West Lewisham by-election of September, 1921, when the Coalition candidate was most unfairly attacked—not, I believe, by either of the opposing candidates, but by unattached critics—on the subject of his birth. This attack wrung from him a personal statement of a very painful character that immediately enlisted the sympathy of women, and they voted for him in large numbers and undoubtedly contributed considerably to his victory.

Another phase of woman's " chivalry " at the polls is illustrated by an incident that marked the East Woolwich by-election of March, 1921, when Captain Gee, V.C., won a notable victory in the teeth of a highly organised Labour opposition supporting that extemely capable electioneering candidate, Mr. Ramsey Macdonald. For the greater part of that campaign, the shrewdest observers were convinced that Captain Gee was leading a forlorn hope. Suddenly something dramatic happened that transformed the whole contest. A frenzied " Red " woman struck Captain Gee, who was still suffering from wounds received in the war, a blow in the face as he left his meeting one night.

From that moment he had won. Women electors would talk of nothing else. They felt that their sex had been dishonoured, and that only they could put it right. For them it became the issue of the election, and it was largely their votes that added "M.P." to the still more honourable initials after Captain Gee's name.

Psychology of Woman.

I have dwelt at some length on this aspect of my subject because I am convinced that the successful agent of the future is the man who will be at some pains to understand the psychology of woman so far as it affects public affairs. No proper appreciation of woman as a voting force is possible without an understanding of her emotional reaction to such personal issues as I have related.

It will be seen, therefore, that my first conclusions—one positive, the other negative—on the subject of women voters are that they demand " bread and butter " politics, and decisively reject and punish unfair tactics. A proportion of women voters are, of course, influenced by purely feminist issues, but the majority of the women-in-the-home respond to appeals based on food prices, education, religion, taxation, and wages. They do not bother much about the Supreme Council, but they do know something about the purchasing power of the £.

The " political " woman cannot be altogether ignored, especially in those divisions where feminist organisations are often very active. Usually they favour the candidate with a somewhat searching questionaire, which should never be allowed to intimidate the agent into deserting his better judgment by fear of what may follow a disapproval of any part of their programme. Women are shrewd enough to penetrate the familiar election humbug. Growing political experience is teaching them that the candidate who eagerly says " Yes " to every question they put does not necessarily prove their most useful champion in the House of Commons.

It must be remembered, too, that the women " intellectuals " are always a small minority. It is the working and lower middle class man's wife that must be won over if victory is to be assured, and she usually has scant sympathy with " them Suffragettes." Happy is the agent who has on his staff a woman who holds the key to the humble homes of the division. She must be of good breeding, for the working woman still loves " a lady," but she must be able to adapt herself to every type of woman.

Influencing Women Voters.

During her visits to women voters she will be asked many questions, on some of which it will be desirable to secure a pronouncement by the candidate. Any special leaflets, dealing with issues from a woman's point of view, that are likely to help her in her work, she will suggest to the O.C. publicity, and having discovered a point in the candidate's programme that really commands the sympathy of the women she will see that it is kept well to the front.

It is hardly possible to present in full detail the duties that will fall to the O.C. women voters' department. So much will depend on the circumstances of the campaign and the natural aptitude of the O.C. herself. She may be an excellent public speaker or she may be a more effective worker in other capacities. In any case, she will take a leading part in association with the O.C. indoor meetings, in arranging the women's afternoon meetings and selecting suitable chairmen and speakers.

While a woman "chairman" is always advisable at such meetings, a complete programme of women speakers is not at all desirable. Women like to hear a speech from an able member of their own sex, but they also appreciate the oratory of a man, provided he be possessed of humour, a warm heart and human sympathies, and an understanding of the woman's point of view. An afternoon spent listening to such a speaker takes the busy housewife "out of herself," and gives her real enjoyment and rest from the affairs of home. What she hears, therefore, sinks into her mind and moulds her judgment.

It is a good plan always to follow a woman's afternoon meeting with a general evening meeting. This avoids a re-arrangement of the hall, and it generally secures that the women shall advertise the evening meeting to their men folk when they return home to tea.

Canvassing Women Voters.

In connection with the canvass, it is, of course, quite impossible to treat women and men electors separately. The canvass must be conducted as a whole. The O.C. women electors can, however, give the canvassers much valuable advice, based on her own enquiries, as to the best methods of appealing to the women voters. The right O.C. will also be able to whip up dozens of lady canvassers.

Early in the campaign the O.C. should get into touch with every branch of every women's organisation in the division, not excepting those likely to prove hostile to the candidate. As liaison officer between the agent and such bodies as the Women's Institute, the Women's Co-operative Guilds, and so on, she can be a most valuable intelligence officer.

She should urge such organised bodies to call meetings of their members to hear the candidate expound his views, and before such meetings take place she must fully acquaint the candidate with the fundamental principles of the bodies he is to address, the nature of the questions he is likely to be asked, and the kind of answers that will be most welcome. This gives the candidate an opportunity to consider carefully how far he can conscientiously adapt his policy to his audience.

The O.C. should also be the guide, philosopher, and friend of the candidate's wife and children, advising them how best to further the cause of the candidate in the canvass and other ways. If the children are old enough, they should canvass apart from their mother, and thus increase the range of the "family canvass," which is always very effective. Children who can pay simple tributes to the goodness of "Daddy," and wives who can speak of a husband's courage and love in the "dark days," have a considerable influence with the women electors.

A Classic Example.

Such methods must not be despised. The present Lord Lambourne, it will be remembered, became affectionately known by the title of "Uncle Mark" as the result of an electioneering "speech" by his little nephew when, as Colonel Lockwood, the popular Chairman of the Kitchen Committee of the House of Commons, he was seeking a renewal of confidence from the electors of the Epping Division of Essex.

It is impossible to leave this subject without fresh emphasis on the tremendous importance of organising the women voters. I will not venture to assume the role of prophet, but I shall be surprised if in the near future there does not arise a new type of professional woman—the woman election agent, who will take her place of equality beside her masculine colleagues and command the same remuneration.

It is the natural sequel to the enfranchisement of women. No election organisation will be complete without a man and woman agent working side by side, and the work of the woman will be at least as important as that of the man.

In the past, parliamentary candidates and agents have been glad to avail themselves of the voluntary service of women in the work of angling for men's votes. Now that women have votes, they will demand their rightful place in the political organisations of the country, and that demand cannot long be denied.

Men whose minds are no longer receptive to new ideas may resist such developments for a time, but the men who will win through will be those who frankly accept the undeniable fact of the political equality of the sexes and all that it involves.

(10.) O.C. SPECIAL VOTERS' DEPARTMENT.

The tendency of men to band themselves together into organisations is one which the election agent cannot afford to ignore. Every organised body in the division represents to him a *bloc* of votes that may, by skilful handling, be won almost solidly for his candidate.

Naturally, solid *blocs* of votes are very dear to the agent's heart, and experience shows that comparative trifles may influence the direction in which such votes are cast, especially in the case of professedly non-political bodies. A friendly chat with an influential official in the initial stages of the campaign may set in train a series of hints and suggestions that end in the complete capture of the members for the candidate's cause.

There are so many organised bodies in these days that the agent is wise, if the size of his staff permit, to appoint one man to keep in touch throughout the campaign with every organisation in the division, with the exception, of course, of those coming within the sphere of the O.C. women electors' department.

It should be his business to acquaint himself with the special view-point of each organisation, to learn its approximate membership, and to cultivate friendly relations with the leading officials and influential members.

The choice of a man for this work must be guided by several considerations. He must, above all, possess a genial presence and be a thoroughly sociable man. At the same time he must have keen powers of observation, quick to perceive the political tendencies of the men with whom he converses and the causes that are operating to influence their opinions.

The Passport of Trench Comradeship.

Other things being equal, an ex-service man is the most suitable man for the work. Not only is he a more acceptable ambassador to the ex-service men's organisations, but he will usually find old "comrades of the trenches" in every organised body with which he establishes contact. There is no better guarantee of a welcome.

An early start in this branch of the campaign is essential. There is nothing like getting one's blow in first, and it must certainly be struck before there is any opportunity of the organisation being persuaded to declare itself for the opposing candidate. When such a danger arises, a few friendly members can sometimes be found to put up a fight for a declaration of neutrality, which is the next best thing to a declaration of support.

The first few days of the campaign must, therefore, be devoted by this officer to paying friendly calls on the secretaries, chairmen, presidents, and influential leaders of such bodies of men as trade unionists, farmers, farm labourers, ex-service men, licensed trade, municipal employees, organised ratepayers, teachers, clergy of all denominations, and the social and political clubs. The preliminary visits should be purely of a friendly character, for the purpose of establishing "contacts," but they will provide a good many clues concerning the political atmosphere.

As the campaign proceeds, each organisation should be urged to call a meeting of members to hear the views of the candidate and to question him on points of his policy that affect their special interests. Any concert, dinner, or social gathering being held by the organisation should also be made an opportunity, if it can possibly be arranged, of presenting the candidate to the members. Such occasions, even when political speeches are banned, are most helpful in giving the candidate an opportunity of creating a good impression in the most favourable conditions.

Guidance for the Candidate.

Before each gathering, the O.C. must carefully " brief " the candidate on the special interests of those he is about to meet, and thus enable him to avoid " unfortunate " statements.

A daily conference with the agent is desirable. It is a good plan for the O.C. to meet his chief each night at supper and report progress. Where feeling is going against the candidate in any organisation, the reasons should be frankly stated, and suggestions put forward for " stemming the tide." Harmful misunderstandings that might be removed by a clear pronouncement from the candidate must be specially noted and dealt with. The O.C. publicity must also be informed of any necessity for special leaflets. While these cannot be multiplied indefinitely, the trouble and cost ought not to be weighed too carefully in the balance against any real opportunity of securing a substantial *bloc* vote.

In most divisions, this branch of the work will keep one man fully employed. His days will be filled with interviews and his evenings should be spent in whatever clubs he may become *persona grata.* If he is a keen observer, he will constantly gather hints, during his duties as special canvasser, that will prove of the utmost value to the agent.

His great ambition should be to secure a hearing for his candidate under the best conditions by the members of every organisation in the division. If he achieves that, he will have done much.

(11.) PACKER AND STOREKEEPER.

A very necessary, if undistinguished, cog in the machinery of the election agent's organisation is the packer and storekeeper, whose contribution to the smooth running of the campaign may be considerable.

It is his function to provide the equipment of the committee rooms, keep them supplied with stationery and other election stores, and act as circulation and distribution manager to the O.C. publicity.

His first task is the equipment of the committee rooms, a list of which he receives at the opening of the campaign from the responsible chief of that department. Desks, tables, and chairs must be hired and installed with the utmost promptitude, and a supply of all necessary forms, stationery, and other stores must be furnished. It is unwise and uneconomical to allow each committee room to purchase any requisites independently. They should be instructed to indent for whatever they require to the packer and storekeeper.

He must obtain copies of the registers of electors from the Returning Officer, divide them into their polling districts, and distribute them to their appropriate committee rooms. Copies will be required as follows :—

One complete copy for the agent.
One complete copy for the central committee rooms.
One to the addressing agency or clerical department.
One to cut up for sub-committee rooms.
One (printed on one side of the paper) for wall sheets in all committee rooms.
One ditto for pasting in canvass books. (*If canvass cards are used, this copy will not be required.*)
Six copies of lists of streets, where published.

The charge for registers is regulated by the Act as follows :—

	s.	d.
Up to 100 names	1	0
For each additional 100 or part thereof ..	0	1
Absent and proxy voters, six names ..	0	6
Ditto, each additional name	0	0½

He will have in stock a supply of bills bearing the words "Committee Rooms," and the required number of these should be sent to the printer for the addition of the candidate's name, and dispatched immediately on receipt to each committee room for posting in a prominent place on the premises. Such bills, of course, must bear the name of the printer and publisher. It is usual to have a large poster on linen for the central committee rooms, and a signwriter must be given the order for this at the earliest possible moment. Care should be taken to instruct him regarding the imprint.

Leaflet Distribution.

At an early stage the O.C. publicity, after a study of the registers, will supply the packer and storekeeper with a list of the number of each leaflet to be sent throughout the campaign to each committee room. On receipt of this list he will prepare sets of labels, marking in blue pencil on the reverse side the number given. This is an aid to quick dispatch, and it prevents mistakes.

The packer and storekeeper should cultivate a positive horror of the sight of printed matter lying around his room. It should be his aim to pack into parcels all such matter immediately on receipt, and dispatch it without delay.

This requires the co-operation of the O.C. transport. Usually one car or the dispatch rider from the G.H.Q. calls each day at every committee room, and the fullest use must be made of this service, and in this case many of the difficulties of the packer and storekeeper will disappear.

Failing some such arrangement, he may have to supplement the car service by the use of trains, carriers, and other public transport facilities. He should make himself perfectly familiar with these services, and have posted up in his room all the necessary time-tables.

Among the printed matter that he receives will be the posters. These he must get away to the bill-poster with all speed, so that the hoardings are kept fully covered. From time to time the bill-poster will press for more bills and he must transfer the pressure to the O.C. publicity, who in turn will be inspired to keep the printer extended at top speed.

Register of Stores Issued.

He must keep a register of everything supplied to the committee rooms, and call the attention of the agent to any excessive demands that appear to indicate a leakage of stationery. On page 158 is a specimen schedule. After the declaration of the poll, he will receive back all unused stores, and proceed to compile for the agent a schedule of all stores used in the campaign. This information is necessary for the purpose of preparing the statutory return of expenses.

Emergency Preparations.

Towards the close of the campaign the packer and storekeeper must stand by in readiness for any eleventh hour rush. Agents sometimes regard it as excellent strategy to herald the dawn of polling day with hundreds of new posters on the hoardings. Generally this proves rather futile " cleverness," but there are occasions when it is both necessary and desirable. In such cases, the

RECORD OF RECEIPT AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRINTED MATTER AND STORES.

Received.				Distributed.																	
Date	Description.	Quantity	From whom received.	Clerical Dept.	Bill-poster.	Open-air meetings dept.	Women's dept.	Special dept.	Committee Rooms.												File copies.
									A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	
1 June	Election addresses	36,000	Blank Printing Co., Ltd.	33,000	—	—	—	50	50	250	etc	etc									6
	Window cards	36,000	John Jones & Co.	33,000	—	—	—	—	250	etc	etc	etc									6
2 June	D/C Pictorial posters	2,000	Ditto	—	1,750	10 (on boar	— ds)	—	10		etc										
	D/C Posters "Mr. Smith's Committee Room"	75	Ditto						4 to	each											
	Posters and handbills, Town Hall meeting June 7	50 350	Ditto	—	40 250					10 100	(To Polli is to	the ng d be h	Com istri eld)	mitt ct w	ee R here	oom the	of t mee	he ting			6
	Leaflets "What Smith has done for you"	2,000	Blank Printing Co., Ltd.		500	200	100	100													12
	Canvass cards or books (already written up)	32,000 and 1,000 blanks	Smarts Addressing Agency	—							To r plus	espe 50 b	ctiv lank	e co s to	mmi each	ttee	room	s			6

NOTE.—The number of columns for Committee Rooms will depend upon the number opened for the purposes of the election.

packer and storekeeper may prepare for a whole night's work in co-operation with the bill-poster, and if any extra assistance is necessary, he must see that it is available.

For the guidance of agents, it may be stated that the election forms, stationery, etc., kept in store should include the following :—

LIST OF ELECTION FORMS AND STORES TO BE ALWAYS KEPT IN STOCK.

A.
- Agent, appointment of
    - ,, notification of appointment.
- Analysis of expenses sheets.

B.
- Books of reference.
    - ,, Cash.
    - ,, Petty cash.
    - ,, Postage.
- Boards for wall sheets.
- Blotting paper.
- Brown paper.

C.
- Carbon papers.
- Conveyances, List of owners of private
- Claims, notice as to
- County agents, Form of appointment and declaration of secrecy.
- County agents, Form of notification of appointment.
- Clerks, Instructions to
- Canvassers, Instructions to
- Committee rooms, Instructions to O.C.
- Committee rooms, Schedule of
- Clergy, List of
- Canvass cards or books.
    - ,, cards issue forms
    - ,, Return daily
        - ,, ,, weekly
        - ,, ,, final
        - ,, ,, summary of

D.
- Declaration of secrecy
- Daily instructions to various staffs
- Directories, various

E. Election agent's time-table
Election time table (see also agent)
Expenses, Weekly return of, by committee room clerk and sub-agents
Election expenses, form of return, with declarations and schedules
Envelopes (various sizes)
Ex-service men, List of, etc.
Elastic bands

F. Forms (classified under various headings, q.v.)
Farmers, List of
Foolscap paper (various)
Files (various)

G. Gum.
Guard book

H. Halls, Schedule of used
,, List of available
Hammer

I. Instructions to various staffs
Ink, various colours
India rubbers

L. Labels, tie on and stick on

M. Messengers, Instructions to
Meetings, Instructions to O.C.
Meetings, agenda form and time table
Motor car and conveyance schedule
Motor car circular letter, card, and reply envelope
Maps, marked in parliamentary divisions, committee rooms area, and sub-agents' areas
Memo. books

N. Nomination papers (100)
Note headings
Note or memo. books

O. Order books (1) Printing
(2) Stationery
(3) Advertising and billposting
(4) Halls
(5) Committee rooms
(6) Miscellaneous

P. Personation agents, Instructions to
Polling agents, Instructions to
Polling day
Petty cash slips
Poll card, specimen in type
Polling agents or personation agents, Form of appointment and declaration of secrecy
Polling agents, Notification of appointment
Publicans, List of
Punch for letter files
Pens and nibs
Pencils in three colours
Pins
Paper fasteners, various
Post cards
Paper, various, foolscap, 4to., scribbling, etc.
Press cutting book

R. Receipt books
Registers of election
Ribbon (candidate's colours)

S. String
Spike files
Storekeeper, Instructions to
Sub-agent, Form of appointment of
Sub-agent, Notification of
Staff, Schedule of
Speakers, forms
Stores, Issue form
Speakers, List of times and dates
Street index
Sandwich boards for use at committee room
Halls and open-air meetings

T. Transport, Instructions to O.C.
Time tables of rail, bus, tram and any other transport
Tin Tacks
Tradesmen's list, such as printers, bill-posters, newspaper, sign-writers, etc., etc.
Telegraph forms
Typewriter

W. Workers, Lists of

(*See also the list of forms and leaflets of instruction supplied by Messrs. Charles Knight & Co., Ltd., at the end of this book.*)

Printed Matter File.

The storekeeper must keep a guard book in which he will paste *as received* one copy of every piece of printed matter. This must be always up-to-date for reference. The O.C. publicity will from time to time hand him copies of the opposition's literature, and these also must be pasted in. He must keep one complete set of everything for the candidate.

(12.) THE CANDIDATE'S AIDE-DE-CAMP.

It has been said in another chapter that no agent can afford to have a harassed candidate. The best way to avoid that risk is to provide the candidate with an aide-de-camp who will act as remembrancer and guide throughout the day's programme.

Temperament is responsible for much in the conduct of a candidate, and no man can be expected to be quite normal during the incessant anxieties of an election campaign. Once the candidate begins to worry, he ceases to do himself justice before the public.

The selection of a suitable aide-de-camp is not always easy. Occasionally the candidate has a private secretary who can act in that capacity, and this usually proves a good arrangement. Otherwise the agent should seek out a volunteer for the work. The more closely his social status approximates to that of the candidate, the more happily the arrangement will work, for the two will be thrown into constant companionship throughout the campaign. The aide-de-camp must therefore be a man of leisure. It will be necessary for him to be with the candidate almost from the time he rises to the time he goes to bed. He should be of cheerful disposition, and it is a great advantage if he possesses a sound knowledge of the topography of the division and the peculiarities of the principal residents.

It is the duty of the aide-de-camp to report to the agent at G.H.Q. each morning and obtain a copy of the candidate's programme for the day. He should make all necessary enquiries of the agent, the O.C. outdoor speakers, the O.C. indoor meetings, and other organisation chiefs, respecting the engagements on the programme, so that before starting out with the candidate he has a perfectly clear idea of what is expected of him. He should be in a position to explain to the candidate the purpose of every engagement, whether it be a deputation to be met, a private call to be paid, a meeting to be attended, or an appearance in the market square.

He is responsible for producing the candidate for every appointment at the stated time, without the candidate having to worry about anything but his proper business of what he is to say or do.

It is no light task, but it can be a pleasant one, and for a young man with political aspirations, there is no finer training.

CHAPTER NINE.

MODERN METHODS IN ELECTION CLERICAL WORK.

I HAVE not dealt with the clerical department as a sub-section of the agent's G.H.Q. staff under the control of O.C. committee rooms, for the reason that the methods I advocate are such a definite break with the old traditions that they deserve treatment in a separate chapter. In modern electioneering the old-time clerical staff is virtually abolished.

It was the practice for the agent to gather around him a large and unwieldy staff of clerks, mostly voluntary workers of the enthusiastic and inexperienced type, who came in at irregular times and held envelope-addressing parties, relieved at intervals by tea and gossip.

It was all very charming, inspiring, and pleasant, and when elections were more leisurely affairs than they are to-day such disinterested displays of zeal for the cause must have made the bosoms of candidates and agents swell with pride.

If the agent was lucky, he got his envelopes addressed more or less in time, and as the labour cost nothing he generally reflected that he had got out of a heavy job rather cheaply.

As a matter of fact, it was a bad and muddlesome way, and a fruitful source of irritation and waste. Amateur addressers waste nearly as many envelopes as they correctly address; being unpaid they are not subject to proper discipline; and they frequently transform a committee room into a veritable Bedlam of error by their inattention to important details.

Irritating Errors.

For example, a polling card bearing the number (say) 3138 gets into an envelope numbered 3139, through two envelopes adhering or some other cause. That error is repeated through dozens of envelopes until a compensating error puts it right. On polling day dozens of people present themselves at the polling station, give wrong numbers, are told that they have already voted, and are finally permitted to record a "tendered vote" that can only be used on petition.

That, of course, is the worst that can happen. The best is hopeless confusion and unnecessary delay on the busiest and most vital day of the whole election.

Such an "economy" should be steadfastly avoided by the agent who wishes to do himself justice and to have his chief staff officers free on polling day for the real work in hand.

He will save time and temper—and, I believe, money—if he has all his envelopes addressed for him by a first-class addressing agency. This has been my invariable practice for a number of years, and it has always worked well. As soon as the fight begins, I always send a current register to a reliable firm of addressing agents—even if I am hundreds of miles away—and instruct them to proceed at once with two or three sets of envelopes for every elector, each set being completed before the next is begun, and a set of canvass cards if such are to be used.

Three Sets of Envelopes.

The object of having three sets calls, perhaps, for detailed explanation.

The First Set is for the issue of the election address, and it is required promptly. A convenient size is 8 in. by 5 in., if it is intended to circulate a window card with the address. If not, the ordinary commercial shape will do.

By the time the agency staff has completed this set, the printer should have supplied them with the enclosures, *i.e.*, election addresses and window cards, and within a few hours they should be able to have 30,000 envelopes or more " stuffed," stamped, and in the post on their way to the electors. In some divisions it is possible to deliver the envelopes by hand and thus save a part of the postage. If there is any doubt, however, of the work not being efficiently carried out, the post should be resorted to.

When the division is a large and scattered one, with its different districts served by various rail and road routes, communications thus posted in London frequently arrive at their destinations more quickly than if posted in a county town that is the postal—but often not the geographical—centre of the division. Instead of throwing the sorting of thousands of envelopes and the obliteration of thousands of stamps on the inadequate staff of a small post office, the work is done expeditiously in London, partly by mechanical devices, and each polling district has only to attend to the delivery of its own share.

The Second Set.—Immediately the first set of envelopes is dispatched, the second set must be put in hand. This set is used for the " Final Word " and the poll cards.

In every election the agent is now allowed one free postage to every elector at the expense of the State, and it is usual to exercise this privilege with the second set. The reason is that the election address is generally issued before nomination day, and if it is desired to circulate these post free the postmaster of the division requires a deposit of £50 to cover the cost, returnable after the candidate is duly nominated. As at least two postal communications to the electors are essential, this formality is avoided by reserving the free postal privilege for the second set.

In order to conform with the regulations made by the Postmaster-General under Section 33 of the Representation of the People Act, the envelopes used must not exceed 9 in. in length or 4½ in. in width. On the address side of the envelopes must be printed or rubber-stamped the words, "ELECTION COMMUNICATION" (in the top right hand corner) and the total weight of the communication must not exceed 2 oz.

When the envelopes are ready for posting they must be tied in bundles of 120, all facing the same way, and handed to the *local* postmaster between the hours of 10.0 a.m. and 4.0 p.m. It is advisable to give the postmaster two or three days' warning so that he can obtain temporary assistance for the work.

It should be emphasised that this set must be posted at the head post office of the constituency in which the election is taking place, and 24 hours notice of intention to post must be given to the postmaster. Therefore, if the work of "stuffing" and addressing the envelopes has been carried out away from the division, the communications should be packed in bulk and dispatched to G.H.Q. by passenger train. The cost of carriage is an election expense to be charged up under the heading of "Miscellaneous."

Certificate of Posting.

When the communications are handed to the postmaster they must be accompanied by a certificate in duplicate in the following terms :—

SCHEDULE.

This is to certify that unpaid postal packets have been posted this day at the Post Office on behalf of a (duly nominated)* candidate for the Division.

I declare that each packet contains matter relating to the election only, and is addressed to a duly registered elector for the constituency, and that to the best of my knowledge and belief not more than one unpaid communication has been addressed to any one registered elector on behalf of the said either to-day or previously.

POST OFFICE
DATE STAMP

(*Signature*)

Candidate's Agent.

*To be struck out when the packets are posted before the nomination day.

It often happens that the postmaster is not in possession of copies of this certificate, and the agent should, therefore, prepare two copies in advance, one of which is handed back to him by the postmaster as a certificate of posting.

It is important to remember that the envelopes may only contain matter relating to the election, and must be addressed to duly registered electors only. The total posted, therefore, must in no case exceed the total number of electors on the register.

As this second set is used for issuing the poll cards to the electors as well as for the final word, each envelope should have in the top left hand corner the poll number and code letter of the addressees. This set must be kept in strict order of the register, so that the poll cards, after the polling station of the elector has been entered on them, if this is done by hand, or rubber stamps, and not by the printer, can be placed in the envelopes with the minimum of trouble. A list of the polling stations should be obtained from the Returning Officer at the earliest possible moment.

Stuffing the Poll Cards.

The stuffing of the poll cards is always a difficult and a slow process, requiring great care and attention. It should be completed as early as possible in the contest, so that the envelopes are ready with their proper poll cards, only awaiting the final word before their dispatch to the electors.

Up to quite recently agents have been accustomed to have the register numbers written on the envelopes and the register numbers and polling stations either written or rubber-stamped on the poll cards. It has not yet been widely recognised that there is such a thing as numerical printing, and that any reasonably equipped firm of printers can thus help the agent to save time, money, and labour, as well as eliminate much of the human element in the risk of errors.

The Third Set.—The work of preparing the third set of envelopes (usually commercial shape) should be commenced immediately the poll card set is out of the way. This is the emergency set, ready for instant use in the event of anything arising suddenly as the contest nears its close that makes it imperative for the candidate to circularise the electors once more. It is unfortunately true that a candidate is sometimes obliged, owing to a scurrilous attack from the other side, involving his personal honour, to issue at short notice an explanation or disclaimer. In such an event, the reserve set of envelopes will prove invaluable to the agent.

Should such an emergency happily not arise, the envelopes can be used for a letter of thanks to the electors after the poll, and in this case the cost of their preparation and postage is not an expense which the agent is obliged to include in his statutory return. If even this use is not made of the envelopes, they can usually be sold to the local political association.

A Point in Finance.

It is a nice point in election finance as to whether an agent, faced with such an emergency as I have described, is obliged to regard the expense involved as a statutory expense. Such a situation arose in a contest in which I was engaged as agent. The personal honour of the candidate for whom I was acting was assailed in so gross a manner that it could not be ignored. An alleged incident of his domestic life twenty-five years previously, not in any way germane to the election issues, was raked up by the other side under the wholly mistaken idea that it was good election tactics.

The only way to deal with the scurrilous attack was to circularise the electorate by post and pay for the postage. I did so, and later I deliberately omitted to include the expense involved in my statutory return, leaving it to the other side to raise the issue by way of petition to have the election rendered void on the ground of excessive expenditure.

They did not take up the challenge and the legality of the course I adopted was not, therefore, established; but I venture to doubt whether any English judge would hold that an astute election candidate has the right to force his opponent to fritter away his statutory legal expenditure on issues not germane to the contest, to the consequent neglect of the real political issues.

On the other hand, I am obliged to confess that I can find no statutory assurance that relief for such excessive expenditure will be granted. It is not an authorised excuse for excessive expenditure within the meaning of the Act, and the point will have to be dealt with sooner or later by one of His Majesty's judges.

What the Corrupt Practices Act, Section 18, does say is that the Court will have some regard to the fact that a document of a libellous or scurrilous character has been issued, and will take that circumstance into account. The Court is not bound to grant relief: it is a matter entirely within the discretion of the judge.

When Volunteers and Paid Clerks are Used.

If the agent decides to have envelopes prepared on the old lines by means of volunteer and paid labour, he should give the workers clearly to understand that a time limit is placed on the completion of each set.

If he has purchased sets of addressed envelopes from the local political association, he is in a happy position.

If he has pre-knowledge of the election a month or so ahead, he can put the actual addressing in hand without delay and start the campaign with the three sets already addressed. In that case he risks a postponement of the contest and the possible issue of a new register. In view of the expense involved in taking such a risk, I offer no advice upon the subject. Each agent can judge the possibilities for himself.

In cases where this pre-knowledge has not existed, it is probable that the election addresses and window cards will arrive from the printers while the work of addressing the first set of envelopes is still in progress. If all the clerks are accommodated in one large room, the envelopes can be passed round the various tables by the addressers to the clerks who will insert the enclosures, and so on to those doing the stamping, and finally to the staff engaged in turning in the flaps of the envelopes.

Care must be taken to correct the addresses of all persons who have removed since the preparation of the register.

If the O.C. publicity has done his work promptly he should be able to deliver the poll cards by the time the second set of envelopes is ready, and a section of the clerical staff should at once be diverted to the task of stuffing the envelopes. The work of putting poll cards into their respective envelopes is robbed of many of its terrors if the envelopes have been kept in proper order.

After the envelopes are stuffed, the order in which they are placed becomes of no importance, unless it is to insert removal addresses which come to hand at the last moment from the canvassers.

There is one operation, however, to which I attach importance, and that is the sorting of envelopes into those addressed to men and those to women electors. This enables a special appeal to women to be enclosed in the latter envelopes, and it is well worth doing if time and money permit.

If the O.C. publicity decides to issue a special appeal to the members of any organised bodies, he will notify the O.C. committee rooms, and sets of envelopes from local directories, will have to be prepared for the purpose.

CHAPTER TEN.

THE FINAL WORD.

IT would be a difficult and perhaps unnecessary task to endeavour to assess the relative values of the various operations that compose that salmi of mysterious operations known as electioneering. In any such attempt, however, I should be inclined to allot a high place to the candidate's final word to the electors. Received by them on the very eve of the poll, it is capable of becoming a very powerful instrument for influencing their decision.

It is the agent's last opportunity to add roseate tints to whatever mental picture the electors have formed of the candidate. That mental picture was first limned—not unnaturally in bright colours—by means of the election address. The subsequent performances of the candidate on the platform and elsewhere may have blurred some of the more heroic touches. Candidates—even heaven-sent candidates—are apt not to be at their best when they are addressing seven meetings a day for a fortnight or so on end, as suppliants for votes. Little wonder if they fall short of the expectations aroused by their opening communication to the electors.

The Crowning Effort.

The final word, therefore, is one of the vital necessities of the campaign. With bold, sure strokes, it re-etches the heroic lines that help to present the picture of the perfect candidate with the perfect policy.

The stalwarts of the opponent's party will remain unimpressed, of course, but happily for enterprising election agents, party stalwarts do not decide elections. The deciding factor is the unattached majority of registered electors, now enormously augmented by women, that normally maintains an attitude of indifference towards politics, but is capable under the stimulus of a vigorous campaign, of sustaining a transient interest in such matters for a strictly limited period.

The final word is the agent's crowning effort to rouse this majority of potential voters from their wonted lethargy, and induce them, in the interests of their country and his candidate, to fulfil the duty of citizens on polling day.

There is thus a dual object in this closing piece of election literature. It aims first at inducing registered electors to vote, and secondly to vote for the "right" candidate.

I am of opinion that every well designed final word should open with an appeal to electors, on the high ground of British citizenship and patriotism, to display sufficient interest in the affairs of their country and the fundamental right of self-government to exercise the franchise on polling day. Every year this becomes more vital as a check on the domination of active minorities. Electors should be reminded that the result of the poll may have a considerable influence for a period of years on their liberties, their taxes, their economic conditions, and their general standard of life.

In a by-election they may well be reminded that the eyes of the country are upon them, looking to them to give clear expression to the national feelings on the issues before them.

Following these introductory clauses should come a reminder of the date of polling, with a word or two on how to vote. This latter is by no means unnecessary, even in these enlightened days. Many electors need to have impressed upon them that their votes will be disallowed if they make any kind of mark upon the ballot paper other than a cross in the space provided against the name of one of the candidates. Their attention should also be called to the accompanying poll card, on which they will find their register number and the polling station at which they have the right to vote. This card will further show them exactly where to put their cross if they desire to see the candidate elected.

In some divisions it is even necessary to impress upon the electors that the ballot is absolutely secret, and that no one, at any time, can know how they vote or have the right to enquire.

Fight Against Apathy.

Where there is a danger of the candidate failing to poll his full strength through the apathy of supporters, arising from their excessive optimism as to his prospects, they should be reminded that the effect of his victory in the House of Commons will depend solely on the size of his majority, and that therefore every vote is needed.

With these matters disposed of, the remainder of the final word should be a convincing plea for the elector's support. Its tone may be more intimate than that of the election address, for the candidate will naturally have made many friends in the course of the contest, but the personal and emotional touches should be subservient to sound and decisive arguments. It should aim at confirming the supporter in his faith and deciding the waverer.

The final word must never be tedious. If the agent has conducted his campaign with anything approaching vigour, it ought to be quite unnecessary to dwell at length on the candidate's policy. A succinct summary of the policy is all that is needed, supported by a few crisp " reasons why."

The chances of the final word being read are materially increased by its presentation in a different format to that of the address. A tinted paper may be used, and a fresh portrait, differently placed, may help to secure for it the interest of the elector. There should, however, remain just sufficient similarity of style to link it up at sight with the printed matter previously issued by the candidate. This can be secured without any slavish adherence to the format of the address.

Final Word to Women.

It is desirable, now that women constitute nearly forty per cent. of the registered electorate, to have a separate final word to the women voters. Where the candidate has shown sufficient political forethought to equip himself with a wife, this special final word should bear her signature. It should be a heart-to-heart talk from a woman to women, dealing with the interests of women as they are affected by politics.

There will be no need to have this printed separately. If a double quarto sheet be used, the front and the first inside pages will accommodate the general final word, leaving the second inside page available for the special final word to women. The back page may either be left blank or used for a third final word from some prominent supporter. This may be the head of the party, or someone whose name carries great influence in the division.

The posting of the final word needs to be carefully timed. It must reach the electors before polling day, but not so far before that it affords the opposition time for a rejoinder or gets forgotten or mislaid by the electors. If the elector receives it twenty-four hours before the poll opens, its impression is less likely to be effaced when he goes to vote and he is less likely to lose his poll card. A little co-operation with the postal authorities will usually ensure delivery at the right time.

The Final Poster.

In connection with the final word it is a good plan to issue a final poster. This will naturally take various forms, according to the special circumstances of the campaign, but failing a better I always adopt the following. If my candidate's name be first on the ballot paper my final poster reads: "First on the ballot paper and top of the poll." If it be last, I make the best of a bad job by saying: "Last on the ballot paper but top of the poll." It is quite a simple idea, of course, but it assists the memory of those voters who are apt to become confused when confronted with a ballot paper, and who readily accept a suggestion of that kind if it has been stamped on their minds on the way to the poll. Another effective last minute poster, and one which can also be used on sandwich boards on polling day is "After Thursday, Jones, M.P."

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

THE ART OF INFLUENCING THE PUBLIC MIND.

THE instability of politics in this and all other democratic countries arises from the fact that only a relatively small section of the public is possessed of settled political convictions. If none but those holding definite principles exercised the franchise, the positions of parties would obviously continue stable for decades, and the political phenomenon known as the "swing of the pendulum" would cease to harass the steps of statesmen.

Happily or otherwise, there is a vast mass of registered electors whose interest in politics is normally negligible. They have never thought out for themselves a definite political or economic creed, and they only acquire "views" on political questions—if at all—in times of public crisis or during election contests.

These facts must necessarily enter into the calculations of the election agent. They are, in fact, the only justification for his existence. So far as the declared adherents of parties are concerned, he cannot hope to accomplish more than an increase in the zeal of his supporters and the hostility of his opponents. His success or failure depends upon his ability to convert electors normally indifferent to politics, which is the only way majorities are "manufactured."

Importance of Mass Psychology.

It is here that the scientific electioneering expert, equipped with a knowledge of mass psychology, has an enormous advantage over the rule-of-thumb agent. Victory in an election contest goes invariably to those most skilled in the art of appealing to the emotions and the intelligence of average men and women.

That art is not a new one. It flourished to perfection in the glorious days of Athens and of Rome. Though it may be perverted and used for dishonourable ends, it is not in itself dishonourable. Those who denounce it are in reality denouncing democracy.

The first rule in the art of appealing to the public mind is that far more men and women can be influenced by the concrete than the abstract. An abstract political principle carries infinitely greater conviction if it is enshrined in some specific and homely example that is " understanded of the people."

For this reason I always advocate a search, early in the campaign, for some example that shall stand as a symbol of the candidate's policy. Its nature must, of course, depend entirely on the circumstances of the campaign. As an illustration I will cite my own tactics in the Hertford by-election of 1921, when I was acting as agent for Admiral Sueter.

That campaign was fought largely on the profiteering issue, and as my opponent happened to have been associated with a famous cotton firm, I adopted as my symbol a tenpenny reel of cotton. It typified high prices and crystalised in a readily understood form the fight Admiral Sueter was waging for a lower cost of living. Housewives were naturally quick to appreciate the point, and the huge " property " cotton reel that hung over my committee room door, and which was reproduced in poster form on every hoarding in the division, played a great part in building up the enormous majority that Admiral Sueter secured.

The other side might talk as they would of finance and politics ; the tenpenny reel of cotton was a stubborn fact that carried far more conviction to the public mind.

Crystalise your Policy.

Such examples of crystallising a policy in concrete form might be multiplied indefinitely, and a little thought will reveal similar possibilities to most agents. On several occasions in anti-waste campaigns I have used a large " property " broom with good effect as a symbol of the task of sweeping away waste.

Another method of appealing through the eye is by the use of huge cartoons on a travelling hoarding. It is expensive, of course, as it involves the engagement of an artist, and it is necessary to have a trolley on which to place the hoarding. Nevertheless, it can be very effective, and in certain circumstances is a justifiable expense, especially as the trolley forms an extremely effective platform for open-air meetings.

Frequently, too, the public can be influenced by demonstrations that involve no expenditure on the part of an agent or his candidate. In the case of a military or naval candidate, ex-service men will sometimes offer to arrange a demonstration, and escort the candidate with a band and a procession to the scene of some outdoor meeting. These are voluntary offers that the agent will naturally welcome, and if they are properly stage-managed they can be very effective.

The public presentation of a bouquet to a candidate's wife in the market square is another form of demonstration often suggested by supporters, and the wise agent makes every effort to fall in with such plans. Anything that suggests to the public mind the popularity of the candidate is a valuable aid to success.

The "Light Infantry."

In this connection a word or two on the use of children in modern elections may not be unwelcome. Time was when election agents regarded children as an unmitigated and vote-less nuisance. They hung around the committee rooms, pestered the clerks for literature and cards and generally obstructed the smooth working of the campaign.

To-day, the wise agent takes some thought to secure the children as his allies and he is seriously concerned if the "light infantry"—as I have described them—are overwhelmingly hostile to his candidate.

Children reflect with fair accuracy the preferences they hear expressed in their homes, and as they are artlessly frank in their demonstrations they provide a reliable indication of the effect the campaign is having on their parents.

There are many ways, however, of influencing the attitude of the children, who are always in need of guidance and leadership. If, for instance, an agent takes the trouble to prepare a leaflet of the parodies on popular songs, proclaiming the virtues of his candidate, he may reasonably count on securing the musical honours in the street demonstration of the "light infantry." Children love to demonstrate and they love such guidance.

Many youngsters are also eager to act as unpaid missionaries for the cause. They will distribute leaflets, take home window cards and induce their parents to exhibit them, and help in other little ways if only, instead of being driven from the committee room door, they are welcomed as friends.

On polling day, the children can help by providing a "winning atmosphere." Often the agent has the loan of a lorry, for which he has little use on the day. Filled with cheering children and covered with the candidate's posters, such vehicles render excellent service as a flying column. They help to destroy the apathy which is the agent's worst enemy on polling day.

In the matter of influencing the public mind by other means than political argument, no hard and fast laws can be laid down. It is, essentially, a test of the agent's originality and resource. Some of the suggestions made in this chapter may appear trifling, but experience shows that such "trifles" have an emotional reaction that has a definite effect on the decisions of a large section of the electorate. That is a fact which no agent can afford to despise.

CHAPTER TWELVE

WHAT TO DO ON POLLING DAY.

POLLING day is probably the best test of an agent's organising ability. With the exception of his outdoor speakers, who should have been disbanded on the eve of the poll, his entire " machinery " is engaged on this day. If there has been an harmonious development of the organisation during the campaign, every unit should co-operate one with the other in perfect unison.

There is little doubt that by the time the poll opens practically every voter has come to a decision on the issues of the election. That does not mean, however, that all effort is useless on polling day. Many electors who have made up their minds require a certain amount of stimulus before they convert their opinions into votes.

Frequently the polling day effort—especially that part of it which is crammed into those two hectic hours before the close—decides the contest.

The agent's share of this crowning effort is naturally a strenuous and considerable one, and it will be all the more effective if he has taken steps to provide himself with certain data to guide him in the disposition of his forces. Before retiring on the eve of the poll he should prepare a summary of the final canvass returns that have reached him from the various committee rooms. These figures, while providing him with a rough idea of his candidate's prospects, should serve a better purpose than the mere gratification of curiosity.

If the result appears close on paper, he should be inspired to make a supreme effort in the polling areas that promise the best chance of success. It is no use attempting to convert hostile territory on polling day; it is far more useful to concentrate the main effort in the favourable areas and poll every available vote.

The Agent.

For the agent, as for his chief officers, an early start on polling day is essential. He should be on duty certainly not later than half-an-hour before the opening of the poll. His first visit will be to the O.C. transport to see that all the cars have been got away to their appointed polling districts, and that no hitch of any kind has occurred.

All workers should be urged to vote early, so that they can devote the remainder of the day to bringing others to the poll. Canvassers, clerks, messengers, agents, sub-agents, personation agents and counting agents may vote if their employment is legal.

Between 8.0 a.m. and 9.0 a.m. the agent can be usefully employed in paying a round of visits to the polling stations to see that his checkers are at work recording the numbers of the voters as they arrive or depart, and that his sandwichmen (if any) are on duty in the vicinity of the polling stations.

If he is accompanied on these visits by the candidate, the agent must see that the O.C. publicity is also in attendance to make all necessary arrangements for the Press photographers. These ubiquitous camera men are always in need of early polling day pictures for their papers, and such incidents as the candidate and his wife greeting the first voter are usually regarded as worth the exposure of a plate.

Tour of Committee Rooms.

For the rest of the day, the agent who is attending to his real work will only meet the candidate by chance. By ten o'clock he should have started on his first round of calls at the committee rooms in order to satisfy himself that those in charge fully understand what is expected of them.

The earlier he commences his tour, the more useful and effective is any adjustment he may find it necessary to make in the plan of campaign. He may find cars that are urgently needed in one district standing idle in another. Such matters should be at once reported by 'phone to the O.C. Transport who should not leave G.H.Q. on polling day.

The agent should see that the registers and wall sheets in each committee room are properly marked and that the staff thoroughly understand the use of these as a guide in keeping track of those who have voted and as an indication of supporters who still require a reminder or a call by car.

If possible, the agent should make two complete tonrs of the committee rooms, returning to G.H.Q. from the second tour not later thasn 5.0 p.m. in order to be "at the wheel" for the last hours of the poll.

The agent must keep a keen look out for signs of bribery, treating or improper practices of any kind by representatives of the opposing camp, and if any such acts are discovered he should immediately get the evidence in writing, duly authenticated by signatures. If an incident is allowed to pass, it is often impossible to collect the evidence later.

He must also see that members of his own staff refrain from acts that may be construed as corrupt or illegal. All his workers, it should be remembered, must provide and pay for their own refreshment.

At the Polling Stations.

When visiting the polling stations the agent should have a word with his personation agents (if any), and assure himself that his candidate's interests are being properly safeguarded. He should be in the vicinity of the chief polling stations before the closing hour, when there is usually a lengthy queue of electors, to see that as many of his supporters as possible receive ballot papers before the clock strikes. A suggestion to the presiding officer often helps to expedite the issue of ballot papers in the final congestion. If there is a clear case of inadequate arrangements, and a large number of his supporters are prevented from voting, the agent should take their names and lodge a formal protest with the presiding officer.

In the case of a borough contest, the agent should return to G.H.Q. immediately on the close of the poll to receive his committee room reports as to the number of supporters polled and the estimated poll of the opposing candidate. As the count follows quickly, he probably has very little time in which to analyse the figures.

In the case of a county division, however, he has the remainder of the evening in which to complete this analysis and obtain an approximate idea of the verdict he may expect on the morrow. There may be very little advantage in seeking to probe the unrevealed secret of the ballot box, but at least it nerves a candidate to know whether he will be called upon to move, or to second the vote of thanks to the Returning Officer after the declaration of the poll, and what he has to say to the electors assembled outside the counting hall.

The Candidate.

The only way in which a candidate can really assist his cause on polling day is to keep himself in the public eye as much as possible, and to present a cheery and confident mein. It should be smiles all the way and a hearty word for everyone.

It always creates a good impression for the candidate to arrive at the main polling station in time to greet the first voter. The fact is certain to be talked about and commented on favourably, especially if the rival candidate does not put in an appearance until a late hour.

After breakfast the candidate, accompanied by his wife and family (if any) should commence a complete tour of the committee rooms and polling stations in a gaily decorated car. The cheers or groans that usually greet a candidate's car on polling day serve as an indication—though they are not conclusive evidence—of the tendency of popular feeling in the contests. Whatever happens, the candidate should smile cheerily.

If he should chance to meet the rival candidate at any polling station, his greeting should be friendly and dignified, whatever may have been said in the heat of the contest. If the rival fails to display similar magnanimity, his will be the reputation to suffer. Popular sympathy is always against the man who exhibits a petty feeling in public.

It may be necessary to warn some candidates as to their conduct in polling stations. Amazing as it may appear, some have been known to converse with voters while in the act of voting, and even to instruct them how to fill in their ballot paper. Conduct of this kind springs from inexperience, and the wise candidate will refrain from any kind of conversation with voters inside the polling station.

Maintaining Contact with Agent.

It is an advantage for the candidate, in his tour, to adhere strictly to an itinerary sketched out by the agent, who, in these circumstances, is able to establish contact should necessity arise. It also enables the committee rooms to arrange for supporters to be in the vicinity of the polling stations to give the candidate a rousing reception when he arrives. The effect of such demonstrations always justifies the effort of stage management involved.

If the weather is at all tolerable, the candidate should use an open car on this day, and keep himself in view all day. If time permit, he should make three complete tours of the polling stations and committee rooms. If there is a demonstration at any point when he alights, and he is obliged to do something more than smile, he should carefully avoid talking politics. His role should be that of the "jolly good fellow," confident of winning.

Known supporters and volunteer workers should be greeted with a handshake and a word of thanks to hearten them in the day's task. It is always appreciated. The candidate who has a "flair" for this sort of thing has an immense advantage over the candidate of a retiring or taciturn disposition.

During the last hour of polling, the candidate should be in the neighbourhood of the central polling station, chatting to the groups of electors that always congregate outside.

If the count is to be taken the same night, the candidate will have time, after the close of the poll, to dine and rest. He will be in ample time if he arrives at the count by 10.0 p.m. When the count is postponed till the following day, he need not arrive till about noon.

The O.C. Transport.

So much of the polling day effort depends on transport that the O.C. transport is at least as important as the candidate on that day. His duties are clearly set forth in the special section dealing with this subject. He must have his fleet of cars, few or numerous, in perfect order an hour before the opening of the poll. Each car must be decorated and adorned with posters before being dispatched to the committee room for which it is to work.

The O.C. must have established telephonic communication with every committee room, and he must keep in touch from G.H.Q. throughout the day. He should continually satisfy himself that all cars are being used to the best advantage. Any that are idle in one area should be transferred at once to a district in which they would be more useful. As many of the drivers may have a long journey home before them at the close of the poll, he should make arrangements for each committee room to dismiss their cars the moment their work is completed. As previously pointed out, the O.C. must under no circumstances pay anything to the drivers of vehicles engaged in fetching voters to or from the poll. To pay for board, lodging, refreshment, petrol, running repairs, or to give a gratuity of any kind, is equivalent to paying for the conveyance of electors.

His last duty on polling day is to dispatch the letters of thanks signed by the candidate, to all who have lent their cars.

The duties of the remaining personnel of the election organisation on polling day are fully detailed in the various sections dealing with their work, and it is unnecessary to repeat them here. What they sometimes need to be reminded of is that on polling day the only things that matter are votes. If office routine stands in the way of that object, office routine should be given a day's holiday. It is an occasion on which personal initiative is of the utmost value in an election staff.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

LITTLE THINGS THAT MATTER.

Don't forget to secure your appointment as agent before incurring any expenditure.

The agent's fee must be agreed upon at the time of his appointment, and the amount should be stated on the appointment form.

Don't forget to deliver to the Returning Officer your appointment as agent immediately it is made, and to advertise it.

An agent's appointment may be terminated at any time.

The cost of holding meetings for the selection of a candidate is not an election expense.

The Returning Officer should not give notice of election on a Sunday.

Bank holidays are included in reckoning time under the Ballot Act.

Nominations or polling cannot take place on a Sunday.

Don't go to nomination without the £150 deposit in *cash.*

The failure to pay the £150 deposit at the time of nomination, or within one hour afterwards, means the withdrawal of the candidature.

Don't go to nominations without *at least* a dozen papers in perfect order.

The candidates "abode" on the nomination paper must be his *residence* and not his place of business.

It is illegal to circulate rumours that a candidate will not go to nomination.

Priests of the Established Church are ineligible for Parliament, but dissenting ministers and Roman Catholic priests are eligible.

Don't overlook the entire provisions of Section 34 of the Representation of the People Act, 1918.

Don't forget the law has made the agent responsible for the conduct of the election. The candidate is alone responsible through the agent.

Don't let anybody appoint staff for you without first giving your sanction.

In authorising the engagement of staff, be sure you do not exceed the legal maximum.

Protect yourself against any danger arising out of the unauthorised or illegal act of any member of your staff.

A canvasser, once authorised, becomes an agent of the election agent.

There is no limit to the number of volunteers who may be employed, but every authorised volunteer is an agent for whose corrupt or illegal practices the candidate is responsible.

Don't employ any person engaged by the Returning Officer.

Sub-agents cannot be appointed in borough divisions.

Notice of appointment of sub-agent must give the sub-agent's office address.

Don't appoint as sub-agent a person you do not know. You are responsible for his acts as if they were your own.

Don't appoint on your staff any person who will act as a presiding officer or in any other capacity for the returning officer.

If you are the paid registration agent of the local political association, be careful not to intermingle that job with your work as election agent to the candidate.

Don't employ your full number of clerks and messengers at the outset of an election. Keep a few in hand for emergencies.

Don't employ a conscientious objector.

In hiring committee rooms, be sure not to overstep the legal maximum.

Don't, in the case of a borough, call your principal office a central committee room.

Don't hire a public elementary school room for a committee room.

Don't forget to warn canvassers of their liabilities.

Don't forget to have a complete set of account books ready for use the moment you commence to incur expenditure.

Don't give an order for goods except on an official order form.

Don't pass *any* printing without a full imprint.

Impress upon the bill-poster that if he employs for payment persons to deliver leaflets, etc., they must not solicit votes, *i.e.*, canvass.

Don't offer to post, exhibit, or use any contents bills of a newspaper.

Don't authorise the free distribution of newspapers unless you are prepared to pay for the papers *and* distribution, and include the expenditure in your return of expenses.

Don't give permission for the holding of meetings, hire of halls, or for printing, to be used by outside bodies or associations, unless you do so in writing. Then you must include the cost in your return.

Election meetings in churches are prohibited by ecclesiastical law.

Don't hold open-air meetings in a place where the crowd is liable to obstruct the free passage of the highway.

School hours must not be interfered with when a school is used for an election meeting.

The charge for use of elementary schools is a sum sufficient to cover actual and necessary expenses incurred in preparation of the same before and after the meeting, and the warming, lighting, and cleaning of the room.

Never issue, or make, a statement unless supported by evidence. A false statement amounts to an illegal practice.

To disturb an opponent's public meeting, or incite others to do so, is an illegal practice.

All payments other than those made through the agent are illegal.

An agent can authorise persons to pay petty expenses, and the authorisation should be in writing.

All monies provided for the election must be paid to the agent and to no other person.

All payments over 40/- must be vouched for and stamped receipts obtained. In municipal and county council elections payments of 20/- or over must be vouched for.

An agent cannot legally adopt unauthorised expenditure.

Don't employ speakers for payment.

Payment to a speaker for speaking is illegal employment.

Never pay, either in money, refreshment, or in kind, any canvasser.

Don't pay stewards or any other persons to keep order at an election meeting; it is illegal.

Don't try to evade the law forbidding the employment for payment of canvassers by calling them committee room clerks or messengers.

Pay nothing, however small, without taking a receipt.

The agent may consult a solicitor or barrister upon any legal question, and lawfully pay the proper fee and include it under "Miscellaneous." He cannot, however, give a general retainer to a lawyer.

Your expenses under "Miscellaneous" must not exceed £200.

Don't pay for the exhibition of bills or posters, or for sandwichmen, except through a recognised advertising or billposting agency.

To pay for flags, torches, favours, or other marks of distinction is illegal.

A person who provides flags without payment is not committing an illegal act.

Don't pay for bands, or banners; do without them altogether if possible.

A candidate is not responsible for damage done by a processional mob if he has not organised the procession.

The payment for damage to a banner lent by an elector, or for damage to the hat of an elector, are not illegal payments.

The supply of cards or photographs for wearing on hats, or pinning on caps, is an illegal practice.

Don't treat any elector to refreshment of any kind, even if he be your best friend.

Don't promise employment to any elector after the election.

A person who incurs expenses for holding public meetings not authorised by the agent is guilty of a corrupt practice.

It has been held in some cases that the payment of wages by an employer for time spent in election work, is a corrupt practice.

Don't threaten to withdraw custom from an opponent.

Undue influence or general intimidation of an elector is an offence.

Loans of money to a voter for a consideration amounts to bribery.

Don't subscribe, or promise a subscription, to any local institution, etc., immediately before or during the progress of an election.

Any act of bribery, however small, is an offence. The smallness of the amount is immaterial.

Never bet about the result of the election. It has been held that wagers amount to bribery, and the votes affected thereby are bad.

A payment to a non-elector for the exhibition of posters is lawful, but arrange it through a recognised billposter or advertising agent.

A bona fide gift to an elector prompted by friendship is not illegal, but every care should be taken in making such gifts at election time.

Joint candidates are entitled to one free postage only.

Don't fail to check the size of your "free postage" envelopes. If they are over the size or over the weight allowed by the Postmaster-General, the local postmaster may refuse to accept them.

The local postmaster is entitled to 24-hours' notice of intention to post the free postage envelopes.

The Absent Voters' List does not apply to Universities.

If the election is in a two member seat, and the agent is acting for joint candidates, remember the maximum expenditure is reduced.

The opening of the poll after the statutory hour might avoid an election.

Don't let your well meaning friends send you hired conveyances for use on polling day. It is just the same as hiring them yourself.

Don't provide ribbon, favours, cockades, or badges of any kind. Such provision may be construed as bribery.

Don't pay for petrol for a car lent for polling day.

Peeresses, if registered, may vote.

Polls cannot be held on Good Friday.

Don't pay persons to fetch voters to the poll.

English and Scotch Peers are not entitled to vote at a parliamentary election, neither may they exercise undue influence. They are also ineligible for parliament.

An Irish Peer, unless he is a representative Peer, is eligible for parliament, and, if registered, may vote under certain circumstances.

The wife of a conscientious objector is not disqualified from voting.

A voter going to, or returning from, the poll in a county election is exempt from the payment of any toll in the county.

To pay a voter for loss of time in going to record his vote amounts to bribery.

The wearing of a favour is not unlawful if provided by the wearer.

Aliens, even if their names appear on the register, cannot vote.

Never ask a voter for whom he has voted.

A presiding officer is liable if he omits to place the official mark on the ballot paper before handing it to the voter.

Don't attempt to leave the counting room once you have entered, or attempt to communicate to any person outside information as to the result until it has been declared by the Returning Officer.

Don't forget to advertise for claims against you to be sent in within 14 days of the result.

Don't forget it is the candidate's duty to send you a note of his personal expenses within 14 days of the declaration of the poll.

Sunday is excluded in computing time under the Ballot Act, but *not* excluded in computing time for sending in claims and the return of expenses.

It is an illegal practice to pay any claims which are barred.

The cost of a letter of thanks to electors after the poll is not an election expense, but include it where you can.

It is not a legal obligation to have the account of election expenses audited. But it is a wise plan to do so.

Don't delay lodging your return and declaration until the last day, and don't part with them without first making complete copies for yourself and the candidate.

Don't destroy any paper, book, or document used in an election until a reasonable time after the period has elapsed for lodging a petition. An election judge will look upon such an act with a great deal of suspicion.

Ballot papers must be kept in the custody of the Clerk of the Crown for one year, and the returns by the Returning Officer for two years, after which they may be destroyed or handed back to the candidates at their request.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

THE DUTIES OF THE RETURNING OFFICER AND HIS STAFF.

IN the 1918 Act it is provided that the Sheriff is the Returning Officer for a county, and also for a parliamentary borough coterminous with, or wholly contained in, a county of a city or town having a sheriff. In the case of a parliamentary borough coterminous with or wholly contained in one municipal borough (not being a county of a city or town having a sheriff), or one metropolitan borough or one urban district, the mayor or chairman of the county council as the case requires, is the Returning Officer. In other cases not governed by the above, the Returning Officer is either sheriff, mayor, or chairman as may be authorised by the Ministry of Health.

The above provisions do not apply to University elections. The Returning Officer for the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Wales, or London is the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and in the case of a combined University constituency the Returning Officer is the person appointed from time to time by the Board of Education.

In almost every case the registration officer is the person who performs the duties of Returning Officer at parliamentary elections, and he is designated as the Acting Returning Officer, having the powers, etc., of the Returning Officer.

The appointment of Deputy Acting Returning Officer is subject to the approval of the Minister of Health. Such deputies have the powers of their principal. The Deputy Acting Returning Officer may attend at the nomination or he may be appointed generally to conduct the whole election, and this would appear to be necessary in the case of a general election, when the polls are held all on the one day.

Returning Officers are required to send to the Postmaster-General particulars of their offices and the nearest post town, in order that the postmaster may know where to forward the writ.

Returning Officer's Vote.

No Returning Officer, his partner, deputy, or his clerk, nor partner of either of them can act as agent for any candidate at the election. It is a misdemeanour and the prosecution may be by indictment. The Returning Officer or his deputy cannot vote in the ordinary sense of the word. Where an equality of votes is found to exist between candidates, and the Returning Officer is a registered elector for the division, he may give his casting vote. He may, however, give his *original* vote in any division where he is a registered elector, and where he is not acting as Returning Officer. (See also page 272.)

The Returning Officer cannot return himself, and therefore those acting as returning officers are, during their year of office, ineligible as parliamentary candidates for their own shires, but a Returning Officer for one county is eligible as parliamentary candidate for another county, and for a borough situated in his county, provided the writ is directed to some Returning Officer other than himself. If, however, the duties of the Returning Officer are discharged by the registration officer as Acting Returning Officer, the former is not disqualified from being a candidate.

Charges.

The amount of the Returning Officer's charges are now governed by the 1918 Act, and the whole scale under the Returning Officer's Act, 1875, is repealed. The charges must be reasonable within the Treasury scale, and are issued under a Treasury Order dated 12 November, 1918 (S.R. & O. 1918—1469). The following are the permissible charges :—

FOR SERVICES OF RETURNING OFFICERS.

I.—In a Contested Election.

	£	s.	d.
(1) Fee for conducting the election and generally performing all the duties which a Returning Officer is required to perform under any enactments relating to parliamentary elections (other than any duties in connection with voting by absent voters, for which a separate fee is prescribed by this scale). For every constituency in a parliamentary county :—			
(*a*) If the number of registered electors does not exceed 25,000	50	0	0
(*b*) If the number of registered electors exceeds 25,000—for each additional 1,000 electors or fraction thereof an additional	1	0	0
For every constituency in a parliamentary borough :—			
(*a*) If the number of registered electors does not exceed 25,000	40	0	0
(*b*) If the number of registered electors exceeds 25,000—for each additional 1,000 electors or fraction thereof an additional	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
(2) Additional fee for services in connection with the dispatch and receipt of the ballot papers of absent voters :—			
(*a*) If the number of absent voters in the constituency (excluding proxy voters) does not exceed 5,000	10	0	0
(*b*) If the number exceeds 5,000—for each additional 500 or fraction thereof an additional	0	10	0

II.—IN AN UNCONTESTED ELECTION.

One-fourth of the above sums.

Where the general duties of a Returning Officer are performed by an Acting Returning Officer the above fees shall be paid to such Acting Returning Officer, and shall include any payments made to a Deputy Acting Returning Officer for the discharge of any duties of an Acting Returning Officer which may be assigned to him.

DISBURSEMENTS.

I.—IN A CONTESTED ELECTION.

	In a constituency in a parliamentary county.			In a constituency in a parliamentary borough.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. For each presiding officer, to include all expenses other than any travelling expenses authorized by this scale ..	4	4	0	3	3	0
2. For one clerk at each polling station where not more than 500 voters are assigned to each station	1	10	0	1	5	0
For an additional clerk at a polling station for every number of 500 voters or fraction thereof beyond the first 500 assigned to such polling station.. ..	1	10	0	1	5	0
(In calculating the number of voters assigned to any polling station, absent voters other than proxy voters must be excluded.)						

	In a constituency in a parliamentary county.	In a constituency in a parliamentary borough.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
3. For the remuneration of persons engaged in counting the votes—		
(*a*) If the number of registered electors in the constituency does not exceed 20,000—a total sum of ..	14 0 0	14 0 0
(*b*) If the number of electors exceeds 20,000—for each additional 2,000 electors or fraction thereof an additional	1 0 0	1 0 0
4. For the remuneration of persons employed for the purpose of dispatching and receiving the ballot papers of absent voters—		
(*a*) If the number of absent voters (excluding proxy voters) does not exceed 5,000	40 0 0	40 0 0
(*b*) If the number of absent voters (excluding proxy voters) exceeds 5,000—for each additional 500 or fraction thereof an additional	4 0 0	4 0 0
5. For all clerical and other assistance employed by the Acting Returning Officer or Deputy Acting Returning Officer for the purpose of an election, excluding any services for which payment is otherwise authorized by this scale, and for all expenses of the Returning Officer not otherwise authorized by the scale. If the number of registered electors—		
(*a*) Does not exceed 25,000	35 0 0	30 0 0
(*b*) Exceeds 25,000—for each additional 1,000 or fraction thereof an additional	1 5 0	1 1 0

	In a constituency in a parliamentary county.	In a constituency in a parliamentary borough.
6. For the services of police or special constables where required.	The sum actually charged.	
7. Returning or Acting Returning Officers or Deputy Acting Returning Officers' travelling expenses where necessary to make arrangements for the poll, or otherwise in connection with the conduct of the election.	First-class railway expenses, or where railway service is not available, the actual and necessary cost with subsistence allowance at the rate of £1 a night for not more than five nights when necessarily absent from home on account of duty.	
8. Travelling expenses of presiding officers and poll clerks (excluding any expenses incurred in conveying the ballot boxes from the polling station to the place where the votes are counted).	Third-class railway, or where railway service is not available, the actual and necessary cost. Subsistence allowance to presiding officers at the rate of £1 for each night necessarily spent away from home on account of duty.	
9. Travelling expenses of clerical or other assistants employed by the Acting Returning Officer or Deputy Acting Returning officer where necessary to make arrangements for the poll or otherwise in connection with the conduct of the election.	Third-class railway expenses or where railway service is not available the actual and necessary cost with subsistence allowance at the rate of 10/- a night for each night necessarily spent away from home on account of duty.	
10. For the conveyance of ballot boxes, ballot papers etc., in connection with the election.	Actual and necessary cost.	
Provided that for the conveyance of ballot boxes from the polling station to the place where the votes counted there shall be charged.	Third-class railway expenses or where railway service is not available, the actual and necessary cost not exceeding 1s. 6d. per mile.	

	In a constituency in a parliamentary county.	In a constituency in a parliamentary borough.
11. For printing and providing ballot papers.	Actual and necessary cost.	
12. For printing and providing notices, nomination forms and other documents required in and about the election or poll and cost of publishing same.	Actual and necessary cost.	
13. For the hire of any building or room for the purposes of the election or expenses attending the use of such building or room.	Actual and necessary cost.	
14. For fitting up a polling station including the provision and fitting up of voting compartments and the hire of necessary furniture where this is not otherwise obtainable.	Actual and necessary cost.	
15. For every ballot box required to be purchased, hired, or repaired.	Actual and necessary cost.	
16. For every stamping instrument required to be purchased, hired, altered, or repaired.	Actual and necessary cost.	
17. For stationery at each polling station.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding £1.	
18. For copies of the register.	Actual and necessary cost.	
19. For general stationery, postage and telegrams and telephone messages.	Actual and necessary cost.	
IN AN UNCONTESTED ELECTION.		
For preliminary work undertaken in anticipation of a contest, including clerical assistance.	Actual and necessary cost within the above scale.	

As to the time and manner and form in which the accounts are to be rendered to the Treasury by Returning Officers, it should be noted that accounts must be submitted within eight weeks from the day of nomination, accompanied by a declaration that the accounts are correct. Accounts must also be accompanied by vouchers and receipts, and scheduled under their respective items of expenditure. They must be signed and submitted by the Returning Officer himself, and not by deputies. If the Returning Officer is responsible for more than one constituency, he must submit separate claims, and with all such claims must be sent at the same time a summary of the total claim. If any advances have been made by the Treasury they should be shewn.

Statements should be submitted for each constituency under the signed certificate of the Returning Officer as follows :—

> " I declare that the accounts herewith submitted by me in respect of my services and disbursements are correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.
>
> Signed................................Returning Officer."

The Returning Officer is subject to certain penalties for certain offences as set out in Chapter 2 of " Parker," including, on summary conviction, imprisonment with or without hard labour if he infringes the secrecy of the ballot, as provided for under the Ballot Act.

The amount of the charges of the Returning Officers, except in the case of University elections, shall be charged on and paid out of the consolidated fund as provided for, under Representation of the People (Returning Officers' Expenses) Act, 1919.

General Duties.

Generally speaking, the Returning Officer must see that all things are provided, including staff, materials, etc., and that all necessary things are done for the conduct of an election in a proper manner. He must appoint presiding officers, poll clerks, assistants, clerks, counting assistants, and constables, and instruct them in their duties. His polling stations must be properly equipped, his ballot boxes in perfect order. Ballot papers, stamping machines, and other materials necessary for the issuing of ballot papers must also be provided.

He may also prosecute any person whom he may believe guilty of personation.

He is bound to act with the utmost impartiality. It is his duty to exercise a general superintendence and control over the whole election. On the committal of certain offences he is justified in communicating with the Public Prosecutor. (See "Parker," Chapter 2).

The staff he shall appoint and pay may be such as are necessary for effectually conducting the election, the maximum number of appointments being as follow :—

PRESIDING OFFICERS :	One to each polling station.
POLLING CLERKS :	One at each polling station, where the number of voters assigned to that station are not more than 500.
AN ADDITIONAL CLERK :	At each polling station for every number of 500 voters or fraction thereof beyond the first 500 assigned to each polling station. (Absent voters other than proxy voters are excluded from the calculations.)

Counting Assistants: There appears to be no limit to the number employed under this head, but the amount allowed is, both in the case of a county or borough constituency, the sum of £14 for 20,000 electors and an additional £1 for every 2,000 electors in excess of 20,000.

Absent Voters.

The remuneration for persons employed for the purpose of dispatching and receiving ballot papers of absent voters is, in the case of every class of constituency, £40 for the first 5,000, and £4 for each additional 500.

Further provision is made for clerical and other assistants for the purpose of the election and not authorised under any other heading as follows :—

> Up to 25,000 electors £35 in the case of a county, and £1 5s. 0d. for each additional 1,000 under this heading : in the case of a borough £30, and one guinea, respectively, is allowed.

Constables.

For the service of constables the sum actually charged to the Returning Officer is the sum to be included in the Treasury account.

The fees for services of a Returning Officer in the case of a contested election are shewn on page 202. In the case of an uncontested election, one-fourth of the above sums are allowed. First-class railway expenses are allowed, or, where the railway service is not available, the actual and necessary cost, with subsistence allowances at the rate of £1 per night for not more than five nights when necessarily absent from home.

He is authorised to pay to presiding officers and poll clerks third-class railway expenses, or the necessary cost of other modes of travel, and subsistence allowances to presiding officers at the rate of £1 per night for each night after the first, and to poll clerks at the rate of 10/- for each night, when necessarily spent away from home. The clerical and other assistants rank as poll clerks for the purpose of railway and subsistence expenses.

Ballot Boxes.

The actual and necessary cost of taking ballot boxes to the polling stations and back to the place of count is also allowed, but the actual and necessary cost must not exceed 1s.6d. per mile.

Other charges allowed are:—

THE BALLOT PAPERS :—Charge actual and necessary cost.

PRINTING :—Ditto.

HIRE OF BUILDINGS OR ROOMS :—Ditto.

FITTING UP POLLING STATIONS :—Ditto.

PURCHASE OF BALLOT BOXES :—Ditto.

STAMPING INSTRUMENTS :—Ditto.

STATIONERY :—Ditto, but not to exceed £1 per polling station.

COPIES OF THE REGISTER :—Actual and necessary cost.

GENERAL STATIONERY, POSTAGE, TELEGRAMS, ETC., ETC. :—Ditto.

In the case of an uncontested election all the above disbursements are to be charged at actual and necessary cost within the authorised scale.

Appointment of Staff.

The appointment of all kinds of staff, with the exception of counting assistants, can be made in the same form, as follows :—

> Election of member to serve in Parliament for the County (or Borough or Division) of..........................to be held on the.............. day of...............................19
>
> I, the undersigned, being the Acting Returning Officer for the above-named
> hereby appoint , of
> to preside (or to act as clerk) at the polling station at
> for the purpose of taking a poll at the said election and to exercise and perform all the powers and duties of a presiding officer at such polling station (or in the case of poll clerk, for the purpose of the said election).
> Dated this day of 19
> (Signed)
> Acting Returning Officer.
>
> I accept the above appointment.
> (Signed) ."

COUNTING ASSISTANTS are appointed in the following form :—

> I, the undersigned, being the Acting Returning Officer for the above-named
> hereby appoint
> of
> to act as Counting Assistant, and to attend at
> for the purpose of assisting me in the counting of votes at the said election.
> Dated this day of 19
> (Signed)
> Acting Returning Officer.
>
> I accept the above appointment,
> (Signed)

ACTING DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER is appointed in the following form :—

> Election of member to serve in Parliament for the County (or Borough or Division) of................................ to be held on the.................day of...........................19
>
> I, , being the Acting Returning Officer for the above-named
> in pursuance and by virtue of the power given by the Representation of the People Act, 1918, s. 30, and any other

power enabling me in that behalf, do hereby appoint
of
to be my lawful deputy at the above-named election, and as such deputy to have all the powers, duties and rights that I myself lawfully have, and to perform and discharge the same in like manner as I could lawfully perform and discharge them at the said election by virtue of the said Act and any law in force for the time being.

Dated this day of 19
(Signed)

I accept the above appointment.

(This appointment is subject to the approval of the Minister of Health.)

(Signed)

If the Deputy Acting Returning Officer is only required to carry out a certain part of the work of the election, the following wording, after the words "to be my lawful deputy," should be used :—

For the purpose of (here state the exact duty or duties for which the deputy is required, *e.g.*, presiding at the nomination of candidates) at the said election, and as such deputy to have all the powers, duties and rights that I myself lawfully have for such purpose and to perform and discharge the same in like manner as I could lawfully perform and discharge them by virtue of the said Act and any law in force for the time being.

The whole of the Returning Officer's staff should make declarations of secrecy on the prescribed form :—

I solemnly promise and declare, that I will not at this election for do anything forbidden by section 4 of the Ballot Act, 1872, which has been read to me.

(Signed)
Address

The above declaration was made and subscribed before me this day of , 19 , by the declarant, the fourth section of the Ballot Act, 1872, having been first read to the declarant.

(Signed)
Returning Officer or Justice of the Peace.

(*Section 4 of the Ballot Act referred to in this declaration is printed on the form of declaration of secrecy supplied by Messrs. Charles Knight & Co., Ltd.*)

Instructions to Staff.

Upon the appointment of his complete staff, it is desirable that the Returning Officer should call a meeting and fully instruct the staff so that they clearly understand their duties. Any point on the leaflets of instruction can be further explained and discussed. The form of calling the meeting is given below :—

> You are also requested to attend a meeting which will be held in on , the next at o'clock in the noon precisely, for the purpose [of making and subscribing the declaration of secrecy], and of receiving the necessary instructions. If not then present, your place will be filled by the appointment of another presiding officer (or poll clerk, etc.).
>
> I am, sir,
> Your obedient servant,
> Acting Returning Officer.
>
> Dated this day of 19 .

It is sometimes argued whether it is necessary for constables to make the declaration of secrecy, and the matter appears to be in doubt, but it is highly desirable that any police officer on duty *inside* either polling station or the counting room should make the declaration.

Presiding officers, poll clerks, and other assistants now have the right to vote. If the duties of a presiding officer prevent him from voting at his allotted polling station, he may be authorised by the Returning Officer to vote at another polling station in the constituency upon the furnishing of the following certificate :—

> Constituency of
>
> I, the Returning Officer for the above constituency hereby certify that being numbered on the register of electors for the Polling District of the above-mentioned constituency, is employed by me for purposes in connection with an election for the said constituency, and that the circumstances of his employment are in my opinion such as to prevent him voting at the polling station at which he would otherwise be entitled to vote and I accordingly authorize him to vote at the polling station at the polling place.
>
> (Signed) Returning Officer.
>
> Dated this day of 19 .

In the case of a person entitled to vote as proxy the above certificate should run :—

> I, the Returning Officer for the above constituency hereby certify that , being entitled to vote as proxy for , numbered on the register of electors, for the polling district, etc.

It is desirable, however, to appoint a presiding officer to the polling station at which he should vote.

Presiding Officers.

One such appointment must be made for each station, and the appointment cannot be changed during the poll. Two or more presiding officers cannot be appointed to relieve each other during the day, and it is clear that the total number of presiding officers allowable is at the rate of one officer per polling station. The authorised fee for a presiding officer in a county constituency is four guineas, including all expenses other than those previously set out. In the case of a borough the fee is three guineas.

The presiding officer must be at the polling station before the commencement of the poll, in order that he may have time to lock and seal the ballot boxes, and see that everything is in order for the opening of the poll. He must see that the ballot box is empty, and it is desirable to show the box to his assistants before locking and sealing it. The ballot box must be always in sight of the presiding officer. Once it is sealed and locked, under no circumstances must it again be opened until it is done so by the Returning Officer at the count. It must not be taken out of the polling station for any purpose, not even to enable an infirm voter to place his paper in the box.

The presiding officer must make a declaration of secrecy before the poll opens. He is bound to maintain the secrecy of the poll at his polling station, and must not communicate to any unauthorised person the name or register number of voters who have applied for ballot papers, or who have voted.

He must not interfere with or attempt to obtain information from any voter as to how he has voted, nor communicate information as to voting generally, nor induce any voter to display his ballot paper after he has marked it. The Returning Officer will supply him with the names and addresses of the candidates' polling agents, and names and addresses of the candidates' election agents, who, except for the addition of the candidates themselves, and the presiding officer's assistants, are the only authorised persons, excluding voters, allowed in the polling station.

It is frequently the practice of election agents to appoint persons as checkers or number-takers to obtain from voters their poll numbers as they enter or leave the polling station. These persons must be excluded, as also must persons acting as vote fetchers for a candidate.

The presiding officer should bear in mind that if he quits his own station, he delegates most of his functions to his polling clerk. He cannot, however, delegate them all. For instance, he cannot delegate the powers to order the arrest, exclusion, or the rejection of any person; he can, however, delegate to his poll clerk the powers of putting statutory questions, administering the statutory oath and affirmation to voters or their proxies.

The liabilities of a presiding officer are numerous. If he commit any breach of duty whereby a candidate loses an election, he is liable to an action. He is liable to penalties for misfeasance or misdemeanour, and to imprisonment for infringing the secrecy of the ballot.

The presiding officer cannot act as agent for either of the candidates, or be employed by any other person in or about the election. The presiding officer should bear in mind that the poll opens and closes according to Greenwich meantime, not local time.

Disqualified Voters.

The following electors are disqualified from voting. An infant, a felon, persons guilty of corrupt or illegal practices, any person whose name is not on the register in force (unless entitled to vote by proxy), aliens and peers. Deaf and dumb, childish or infirm persons, lunatics or drunkards, who are on the register, may be brought up to vote if they can answer the following statutory questions to the satisfaction of the Presiding Officer :—

> Question 1.—Are you the same person whose name appears as on the register of electors now in force for the parliamentary county of (or for the division of the parliamentary county of , or for the parliamentary borough of , or for the division of the parliamentary borough of , as the case may be) ?
>
> Question 2.—Have you already voted, either here or elsewhere, at this election for the parliamentary county of (or for the division of the parliamentary borough of , or for the division of the parliamentary borough of as the case may be) ?

Blind, Jewish, and Illiterate Voters.

1. A blind person is one incapacitated by blindness from voting in the manner prescribed by the Act.
2. A Jewish voter is one who verbally declares (if the poll be taken on a Saturday) that he is of Jewish persuasion, and objects on religious grounds to vote in manner prescribed by the Act.
3. An illiterate voter is one who makes a declaration that he is unable to read.

The presiding officer shall, on application of such a voter, and in the presence of the agents of the candidates, or such of them as are in attendance, but apparently excluding the constables, and certainly *all other voters*, they not being under the declaration of secrecy, cause the voter's ballot paper to be marked as directed by him, and placed in the ballot box.

Before marking a ballot paper in any of the above three cases, the presiding officer must take due steps to secure secrecy. He must either clear the station, or take such other steps as he may deem requisite to prevent any other voter, and any constable, from knowing how and for whom the vote is given; but as these votes are marked in the presence of the polling agents, they have a right to see this done, and thus to learn for whom such a voter gives his vote. If they thereafter disclose the information so acquired by them, they incur the penalties for infringement of the secrecy of the ballot.

It seems that, when the poll is taken on a Saturday, a Jew who is unable to read, may, on making the above-mentioned verbal declaration of his religious belief, vote without also making the declaration of inability to read, because on that day his ballot paper may be marked for him by the presiding officer; but he must make the latter declaration when the poll is taken on any other day of the week.

The declaration of inability to read must be read to the voter by the presiding officer (or his clerk), and must be signed by the voter with his mark, in the presence of the presiding officer, who must sign the certificate at the foot of such declaration. These declarations must not be placed in the ballot box, but must, after the close of the poll, be made up into a packet with certain other documents. The name and number of every voter whose vote is so marked, and the reason, shall be entered on " The list of votes marked by the presiding officer."

Opening of the Poll.

The presiding officer will be advised by the Returning Officer whether the poll commences at 7.0 a.m. instead of 8.0 a.m., or closes at 9.0 p.m. instead of 8.0 p.m., or both. Everything should be in readiness some ten minutes before the appointed time.

Electors will come in and demand and receive ballot papers. Each one will at once be asked his name, and if it is ascertained that he is on the register the polling clerk will call out to the presiding officer the register number, and cross out that entry on his copy of the register to denote that that particular voter has received his ballot paper.

Whilst this is being done the presiding officer shall mark the voter's number on the counterfoil of the ballot paper, stamp the paper with the official marking stamp, taking very special care that each paper issued is stamped and that the mark is visible on both sides of the paper. Care should be taken to see that the official mark is not placed in the squares on the right-hand side of the paper, where the voter makes his cross.

Wherever possible the presiding officer should fold the ballot paper in four, and open it again, before handing it to the elector. This serves as a reminder to the elector that after having made his mark he should fold it up again before dropping it into the box. One ballot paper only must be given to each voter.

No mark of any kind other than the official stamp must be made by the presiding officer on the ballot paper, and nothing except the voter's registered number must be entered upon the counterfoil thereof.

The presiding officer should see that the number of the ballot paper issued to a particular elector is not seen, to prevent it being communicated to the candidates' polling agents.

In a large polling station, the presiding officer should not attempt to do all the practical work of the polling station. He should in such cases be the officer in command, exercising a general supervision, and being available in the event of any difficulty or question arising.

On the delivery to the voter of his ballot paper, he should be directed to the compartments erected for the use of the electors wherein to mark their ballot papers. The regulations as to how a voter should mark his ballot paper, which should be displayed in each of the compartments where the voters secretly mark their ballot papers, are as follows :—

DIRECTIONS FOR THE GUIDANCE OF VOTERS IN VOTING.

The voter may vote for   candidate(s).

The voter will go into one of the compartments, and, with the pencil provided in the compartment, place a cross on the *right hand side*, opposite the name of each (the) candidate for whom he votes, thus X

(*Here print example of Ballot Paper, but the real names or descriptions of the contesting candidates must not be given.*)

The voter will then *fold up the ballot paper* so as to show the official mark on the back, and leaving the compartment will, without showing the front of the paper to any person, *show the official mark on the back to the presiding officer*, and then, in the presence of the presiding officer, put the paper into the ballot box, and forthwith quit the polling station.

If the voter inadvertently spoils a ballot paper, he can return it to the officer, who will, if satisfied of such inadvertence, give him another paper.

If the voter votes for more than candidate(s), or places any mark on the paper by which he may be afterwards identified, his ballot paper will be void, and will not be counted.

If the voter takes a ballot paper out of the polling station, or deposits in the ballot box any other paper than the one given him by the officer, he will be guilty of a misdemeanour, and be subject to imprisonment for any term not exceeding six months, with or without hard labour.

Spoilt Ballot Papers.

A voter may vote for as many candidates as there are vacancies, or a less number, or for one only, but if he marks his ballot paper for more candidates than he is entitled to vote for his ballot paper will be void. If, in such a case, the voter states that he has inadvertently marked his ballot paper so that it becomes a spoilt paper, the presiding officer has power to issue another, and this is the only case in which the presiding officer is empowered to deliver a second paper to the same voter.

Spoilt ballot papers must under no circumstances be destroyed, as they have to be made up in a packet and delivered to the Returning Officer. A spoilt ballot paper must not be taken out of the polling station. The voter is not allowed to correct a mistake after he has dropped his ballot paper in the box, neither must a tendered ballot paper be issued to him.

Refusal of Ballot Paper.

The presiding officer is entitled to refuse to issue a ballot paper in the following circumstances:—

A person shall not be entitled to vote unless he is on the register, or unless he is a person who is entitled to vote as proxy; but the presiding officer has no authority to inquire into the capacity of any voter on the register who may apply to him for a ballot paper. The register is conclusive on the presiding officer, and he is not entitled to refuse to deliver a ballot paper to an elector whose name is on the register, even though such elector be wrongly on the register, or be prohibited from voting by any statute, or by common law of parliament, and be therefore liable to have his vote struck off on a scrutiny. Nor is he entitled to refuse to deliver a ballot paper to an elector whose name is erroneously given on the register, if he be satisfied of the identity of the elector applying to vote with the person whose name appears on the register.

Similarly the presiding officer is not entitled to refuse to deliver a ballot paper to a person who claims to vote as proxy for an elector, if he is satisfied of the identity of that person with the person named as proxy on the proxy paper; and, with the exception of certain constables, the presiding officer must in the case of ordinary voters refuse to deliver a ballot paper to a person :—

(1) Whose name is not on the register of voters assigned to vote at his polling station ; or
(2) Who refuses to answer the first two statutory questions or either of them, or who refuses to take the oath or make the affirmation if required to be put or taken ; or
(3) Who appears by his answers or oath or affirmation not to be the same person whose name appears on the register of voters, or who appears to have voted before at the present election ;
(4) Who at a general election, in the case of a male elector, does not answer the third and fourth questions in the negative or, in the case of a woman, does not answer the fifth question in the affirmative unless she satisfies the presiding officer that her previous vote was given at a university election.

He must supply them to all other such voters. A voter who applies to vote at the wrong polling station should be directed by the presiding officer to the proper station. A person voting at the polling station under authority of the Returning Officer's certificate, such as presiding officers and constables, is assigned to that station.

Votes Allowed.

No male voter shall vote at a general election for more than one constituency for which he holds a residential qualification, or for more than one constituency for which he holds any other qualification. This means that the day of the plural or out-voter is gone, and confines more or less the male voter's voting capacity to one vote for his house and one vote for his business premises.

A woman shall not vote at a general election for which she is registered by virtue of her own or her husband's local government qualification, or for more than one constituency for which he is registered for any other qualification, and any person who at a general election votes or attempts to vote other than as above is guilty of an illegal practice.

Proxy Votes.

Voting by proxy, although not yet fully understood by those entitled to avail themselves of the provisions of the Act, is now a permanent part of our system, and a few notes on the point will be of use to presiding officers. A person to whom a proxy paper has been issued, authorising him to vote for an elector who is on the register, is entitled on production of a valid proxy paper to receive a ballot paper.

The vote must be given at the polling station at which the elector would ordinarily vote, and the presiding officer's copy of the Absent Voters' Register will be marked in these cases with the addition of the letter "P." The presiding officer can refuse to deliver a ballot paper to a person claiming to vote as proxy under the following circumstances :—

(1) Who does not produce the proxy paper authorising him to vote as proxy ; or

(2) Who produces a proxy paper which is no longer in force, or which has been cancelled ; or

(3) Who refuses to answer the sixth and seventh statutory questions given below, or either of them, or who refuses to take the oath or affirmation, if required to be put or taken;

(4) Who appears by his answers not to be the same person whose name appears on the proxy paper, or who appears to have voted before as proxy on behalf of the same absent voter at the present election;

(5) Who, at a general election, if he or she is a person voting as proxy on behalf of a man, does not answer the eighth or ninth question given below in the negative, or in the case of a person voting as proxy on behalf of a woman, does not answer the tenth question in the affirmative, unless the presiding officer is satisfied that the previous vote was given at a university election.

The Presiding Officer is entitled to ask, if circumstances render it necessary, the following questions:—

Question 6.—Are you the same person whose name appears as   in this proxy paper as entitled to vote as proxy on behalf of   ?

Question 7.—Have you already voted as proxy on behalf of   either here or elsewhere at this election for the parliamentary county of   (or for the division of the parliamentary county of   , or the parliamentary borough of   , or for the   division of the parliamentary borough   , as the case may be)?

Question 8.—(In the case of a person voting as proxy on behalf of a man registered in respect of a residence qualification.) Have you already voted at this general election on behalf of   in respect of a residence qualification?

Question 9.—(In the case of a person voting as proxy on behalf of a man registered in respect of a qualification other than a residence qualification.) Have you already voted at this general election on behalf of   in respect of a qualification other than a residence qualification?

Question 10.—(In the case of a person voting as proxy on behalf of a woman at an election other than a university election.) Have you already voted on behalf of   at this general election?

On verification of the proxy, a ballot paper should be supplied, and the person directed to vote in the ordinary way, and the Absent Voters' List should be marked on the handing out of the ballot paper.

If a person claiming to vote as proxy on behalf of an absent elector produces what appears to be a valid proxy paper, and applies for a ballot paper when a vote has already been recorded on behalf of such absent elector, he or she is entitled upon duly answering the statutory questions, and taking the statutory oath or affirmation, to tender a vote as above described. In such a case, the presiding officer shall indorse on the tendered ballot paper the name of the proxy as well as the name and number of the absent elector, and the same particulars shall be entered also on the tendered voters' list.

The following is the form of oath and affirmation respectively of a proxy voter :—

> I swear by Almighty God that I am the same person
> whose name appears as   on the proxy paper issued in
> respect of   and that I have not already voted on behalf
> of   either here or elsewhere at this election for the
> parliamentary county of   (or for the
>   division of the parliamentary county of
>   or for the parliamentary borough
> of   or for the   division
> of the parliamentary borough of   as the case
> may be).

Unless the person about to take the oath voluntarily objects thereto, or is physically incapable of so taking the oath, the oath shall be administered in the form and manner aforesaid without question ; but in the case of a person who is neither a Christian nor a Jew, the oath shall be administered in any manner which is held lawful.

The following is the form of affirmation of proxy voter :

> I do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm, that I am the same person whose name appears as on the proxy paper issued in respect of either here or elsewhere, at this election for the parliamentary county of (or for the division of the parliamentary county of or for the parliamentary borough of , or for the division of the parliamentary borough of , as the case may be).

Below will be found the proxy paper itself and the cancellation thereof :—

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1918.

PROXY PAPER.

Constituency ....
Polling District ....
(Name) ....
(Address) ....
is hereby appointed as proxy for
(Name of Electror) ....
who is registered as a parliamentary elector in respect of (Address of qualifying premises)...................................
to vote for such elector at all parliamentary elections for the above constituency whilst this proxy paper remains in force.

Signature of Registration Officer....................................
Date..

Note.—The person appointed as proxy should carefully preserve this paper which must be produced at each election to the presiding officer at the polling station, who will then issue a ballot paper to be marked in the usual way.

To the Registration Officer for.......................................

I, ...
being registered as a parliamentary elector in respect of the following premises....................................hereby cancel any proxy paper issued in respect of the above qualification.

Signed ....
Witnessed by ....
Date ....

Administration of Oath.

The presiding officer shall, if required, on behalf of any candidate at the time of the voter, or person claiming a vote as proxy, tendering his vote, adminster the appropriate oath or affirmation by the voter on the questions already set out above, but no question or enquiry other than the statutory questions are permissible.

Tendered Votes.

The principle of the tendered vote concerns a person who represents himself to be a particular person named on the register, and who applies for a ballot paper after another person has voted as such elector. If the person so applying in the second instance answers the first two statutory questions, and takes the statutory oath or affirmation in a satisfactory manner, he is entitled to be handed a tendered ballot paper as if he were the voter he purports to be. Such ballot paper, however, must be of a distinctive colour, and instead of being put in the ballot box, shall be given to the presiding officer and indorsed by him with the name of the voter and his registered number, and set aside in a separate packet. Such votes shall not be counted by the Returning Officer, but shall be entered on the tendered voters' list on the following form :—

Polling District No.....................
Polling Station No.....................

LIST OF TENDERED VOTES.

Name of Voter.	Number on the Register.

(Signed) Presiding Officer.

Note.—This list may conveniently be printed on paper of the same colour as that of the tendered ballot papers.

Duties of Presiding Officer.

The duties of a presiding officer include the maintenance of order at his polling station. He is entitled to regulate the number of electors to be admitted at a time. He can exclude any unauthorised persons to secure order. The persons entitled to admission at the polling station are poll clerks, polling agents (on the production of their authority to be present), constables on duty, the candidates and their duly appointed agents, provided they have cards of admission to the polling station, and they do not interfere with the conduct of the election.

The presiding officer can call at any time upon any constable to remove any person other than those authorised to be present, but these powers do not prevent any elector who is otherwise entitled to vote from voting. The presiding officer has power in the event of confusion, which appears to cover an undue rush upon the polling station, to order the station to be cleared and order restored before the issue of ballot papers is proceeded with.

The presiding officer can allocate seats to the candidates' polling agents in such a manner as to prohibit them from holding communication with any voter, or of seeing which way a voter has voted.

The polling agent must apply to the presiding officer for permission to leave the polling station and return thereto. He can prevent a candidate's polling agent taking from the station his marked register before the poll has closed.

One of the most important duties of the presiding officer is to see that no person interferes with the voter when marking his ballot paper, and any person who does so or attempts to do so is liable to imprisonment.

Personation.

Personation is the act of any person who applies for a ballot paper in the name of some other person, whether that other person be alive or dead. The offence is a corrupt practice, and the offender is incapacitated for seven years (see page 483). The subject is dealt with fully under the heading of " Polling or Personation Agents." It is the duty of the Returning Officer to prosecute any person whom he may believe to have been guilty of personation as provided for in the Ballot Act, Section 24.

The presiding officer may arrest any person whom he may believe to have been guilty of this offence. The case is entirely in his hands except when a candidate's polling agent requests the arrest of an alleged personator. The Returning Officer can order any constable to take an alleged personator into custody, but he is not entitled to reject the vote of any person who answers in the affirmative the statutory questions.

Close of the Poll.

The poll shall be kept open until the appointed hour of closing by Greenwich meantime notified to him by the Returning Officer. The poll must not be closed earlier than the statutory time for any temporary purpose. The supply of ballot papers, however, must cease promptly at the time at which the poll is due to close, and no voter can be admitted after that hour. This is an important point. There have been occasions when hundreds have been waiting in a queue outside the polling station for admission within a few minutes of the closing hour, and protests have been made to the Returning Officer because voters could not be admitted before the striking of the clock. It is clearly laid down that the supply of papers must *cease* at the statutory hour, and no voter admitted after that hour, and no vote received after that hour, *except from voters who have obtained admission to the polling station and have applied for and received ballot papers before the closing hour.*

There is not the slightest doubt that votes received after the close of the poll are bad and would be struck off on a scrutiny. Once the poll is closed it cannot be re-opened, but the Returning Officer should be quite clear that ballot papers received after the close of the poll, but which were delivered to the voters before the hour of closing, are valid papers. Ballot papers must not be given out, however, *after* the hour of closing, even if voters had asked for them before the hour.

After the Close of the Poll.

The poll being closed, the presiding officer should at once clear the station of all persons excepting his clerks, the candidates' polling agents, and any member of the police force he thinks it desirable to retain. The ballot box or boxes should be sealed up at the earliest possible moment after the poll has been closed, and in the presence of such persons as he desires to be in attendance, more particularly in the presence of any agents of the candidates who are available. The ballot box having been sealed, the key should be attached.

Unused ballot papers of all kinds, with their counterfoils and the spoilt papers placed together, should be sealed in a separate packet with the presiding officer's own seal. If a book of ballot papers be partly used, it must be so cut that counterfoils of unused ballot papers with the ballot papers attached may be put into this packet.

A separate sealed package must be made of the tendered ballot papers used. A fourth package must contain the marked copy of the register, the counterfoils of all ballot papers used, the certificates of constables who have voted at the polling stations, and the certificates authorising persons in the employ of the Returning Officer to vote at the station.

The marked register should be sealed separately from the counterfoils, and the certificates should then be enclosed in one package.

The fifth package should contain the tendered votes list, list of votes marked by the presiding officer, the statement on the marked votes, and the declarations of inability to read. As regard marked votes, the statement concerning these should be placed in a separate envelope, so as to assist the Returning Officer in preparing his particulars for dispatch to the clerk of the Crown.

The presiding officer should make up into separate packets, and personally seal, the ballot paper account, showing the number of papers issued to him and accounting for them in the manner set out on the form below :—

Polling Station at ....
Date....................................

BALLOT PAPER ACCOUNT.

Number of ballot papers received from Returning Officer (exclusive of tendered ballot papers) .. ..
Number in the ballot box .. ..
Number unused .. ..
Number spoilt .. ..

Total ..

He should also make up in another separate packet the appointments of himself and his poll clerks. If he has caused any person to be given into custody, he should thereupon make out a list of the persons arrested, the alleged offences, the officer who arrested them, the grounds upon which the charge is based, and any other facts that he considers it desirable to state.

The presiding officer's final job is to deliver the ballot box and the packets to the Returning Officer. The appointed place is already known to him, and when making the delivery he should be accompanied by one or more of his poll clerks.

Stamping instruments, unused printed forms and stationery, etc., should also be returned. The presiding officer should bear in mind that the charges for the conveyance of ballot boxes have to be accounted for by the Returning Officer, and wherever possible should be conveyed by train at third-class rates, but if railway facilities are not available, the actual and necessary cost of conveyance only must be charged, and in any event this must not exceed 1s. 6d. per mile. If the presiding officer makes any payment under this heading on behalf of the Returning Officer, he should obtain a voucher for the amount.

Poll Clerks.

The appointment of poll clerks is subject to one or two qualifications. A competent person can act whether he be a minor or not, but he must not be the agent of a candidate at the election, nor must he be employed by any other person in or about the election. He must make the declaration of secrecy before the opening of the poll. There is no objection to him being an elector of the division in which the election is taking place, and the Returning Officer may authorise him to record his vote at the polling station at which he is engaged.

As in the case of the presiding officer, however, it must be pointed out that it is undesirable for the polling clerk to leave his station, and he should as far as possible be appointed to the station at which he records his vote. The form of certificate enabling him to vote if he is away from his station is, subject to adaptation, shewn on page 213. The polling clerks' appointment should be in the same form as the presiding officers', shewn on page 211.

The number of polling clerks appointed to a polling station are the number necessary for effectually conducting the election, and in the case of very large stations it is desirable to appoint such a number as will enable the presiding officer to superintend the work of the station without being called upon personally to issue ballot papers to voters. The Returning Officer, however, cannot pay more polling clerks than is set out in the Treasury scale.

Poll Clerk's Fee.

A poll clerk in a county constituency is entitled to remuneration at the rate of 30/-, and in a borough constituency at the rate of 25/-. Expenses in addition to these sums are allowed under the Treasury scale.

Duties.

He must be on duty at the polling station before the appointed hour of the opening of the poll, and his first business is to assist the presiding officer in the sealing of the ballot box and placing it in a position where it will be under the constant observation of the presiding officer. He will also ascertain that the compartments erected to enable the voters to mark their ballot papers are erected in a correct manner, and that the posters " Instructions for the guidance of Voters " are duly displayed. He must make the statutory declaration of secrecy before the opening of the poll. He is empowered to administer the statutory oath or affirmation to voters, and also to persons voting as proxies. His liabilities and disabilities as a poll clerk are similar to those of a presiding officer.

On the opening of the poll, voters will be directed to him, and will state their name and address, and if they are found upon the register the poll clerk will call out the register number and polling district code letter to the presiding officer, or other person in charge of the ballot paper book. On the issuing of the ballot paper, he will mark his register by a line drawn through the voters' name to indicate that a ballot paper has been issued in respect of the voter, but he shall not shew the particular ballot paper which has been issued.

A poll clerk may have delegated to him any act which he is required or authorised to do at a polling station, except order the arrest, exclusion, or rejection of any person. These powers are fully dealt with as the powers of the presiding officer under that heading.

Constables.

The Returning Officer is empowered to provide whatever constables he requires at polling stations, and they will be placed under the entire charge of the presiding officer. Their duties consist in helping to maintain order, to admit no more persons to the polling station than the presiding officer can deal with, to remove any person on the instructions of the presiding officer, and to take into custody any person charged with an offence whom the presiding officer may order to be taken into custody.

A constable is further charged with maintaining the secrecy of the ballot, and with preventing communication of unauthorised information. If he is stationed *inside* the poll station, it is desirable that he should make a declaration of secrecy.

A constable engaged in an election is entitled, if his duties prevent him from voting at the polling station allotted to him on the register, to vote at the polling station where he is on duty on production of the certificate of his Chief Constable. The presiding officer must cancel such certificate, and at the close of the poll place such certificates in the package containing the counterfoils of the ballot papers.

The expenses of the provision of constables is the sum actually charged to the Returning Officer for the service rendered. A constable may be requested to be present at the sealing of the ballot box, in order to be a witness as to its being empty, and also at the sealing of the aperture at the close of the poll. He must be on duty a little time before the opening of the poll, whether it be 7.0 a.m. or 8.0 a.m.

The voter, as he enters the station, will be directed by the constable to the presiding officer or the poll clerk. If the number of voters arriving at the station are, in the opinion of the constable, excessive for the smooth working of the election, he should advise the presiding officer, who will direct him as to the number of persons to be admitted at one time to the station.

Constables at the Count.

Although it is not anticipated that offences or disturbances will take place at the count, it is desirable in the interests of the Returning Officer himself that a small number of constables should be on duty. They are required to preserve order, and to prevent the business of the count being interfered with. Unless such constables have made a declaration of secrecy, they should not be allowed to enter the counting room. The expenses of constables at the counting of votes is recoverable from the Treasury to the extent of the sum actually paid for the services of the police.

Assistants and Clerks.

Assistants and clerks are authorised to be appointed for the supply of nomination forms, the notice announcing the names of nominated candidates, the issue and receipt of absent voters' ballot papers, and in any other capacity which assists the Returning Officer in the conduct of the election. If they are to be admitted into polling station or the counting room, they must make a declaration of secrecy.

There is no limit to the number of assistants and clerks which the Returning Officer may employ as long as the number is necessary for effectually doing the work, but the maximum number to be charged is set out in the Treasury scale. It has been found that at least one clerk and two assistants are required at the issue of voters' ballot papers, or at the counting for every 1,000 papers issued, but the number engaged is entirely a matter in the discretion of the Returning Officer.

The rate of pay and other expenses are shewn in the Treasury scale.

At the issue of absent voters' ballot papers, the clerk or assistant is required to see that each ballot paper is stamped with the official mark, and to maintain the secrecy of the ballot. They are entitled to vote in a manner similar to presiding officers and polling clerks. If they are employed at a polling station, their duties generally are given under the heading of "Poll Clerks." It frequently happens that they are employed as counting assistants at the count, and their duties in such event are dealt with under this heading.

Polling Stations.

The Returning Officer must provide sufficient polling stations to enable him effectually to conduct the election. In large industrial centres the station is often divided into a number of compartments to deal with the heavy applications for ballot papers, but at each place he must provide sufficient accommodation for electors entitled to vote.

In the case of a borough there shall be at least one polling station for each ward. In the case of a county there must be at least one polling station for each polling district in the division. It is the duty of the Returning Officer so to distribute the polling stations that they are convenient to the majority of the electors. In providing stations, however, he is bound by the provisions which enable him only to hire a building or room as a polling station and forbid the erection of a booth. He may use free of charge any State schoolroom, any room maintained out of the local rate, or the office of the local authority, but must make good any damage done and defray any expense arising out of such use.

Several polling stations may be held in the same room; one polling station may be divided into two or more rooms.

The Returning Officer is entitled to charge the actual cost of hire of such accommodation, and the actual cost of fitting up premises as a polling station.

The polling station must not be on licensed premises, or in any place directly connected therewith, unless the consent of all the candidates has been obtained in writing. There appears to be no rule against the use of dissenting chapels as polling stations.

An ideal station is one which is provided with two doors, one for the entry of voters and one for the exit. In such cases the doors should be marked with large placards " IN " and " OUT " respectively. This will allow for a steady stream of electors through the building. They can enter and leave in good order.

As far as possible stations should be selected on the street level, and this is where schools and schoolrooms attached to churches and chapels are so desirable.

The presiding officer's table should face the door where voters enter, with a constable on duty at that door. Accommodation at the presiding officer's table should be provided for poll clerks and candidates' polling or personation agents. Each station must contain sufficient compartments in which voters can secretly mark their ballot papers. The number of compartments to be erected should be based upon the experience of former elections, modified by any considerable change in the register. Compartments should be immediately facing the presiding officer. The actual charges for the erection of these compartments are recoverable from the Treasury. The Returning Officer, in the case of a general election, is faced with a very serious difficulty of providing sufficient compartments, ballot boxes, fittings, etc., but no doubt by this time, with the aid of the local authorities in the division, arrangements have been made to store sufficient articles for use on such occasions, when all the boroughs and all the divisions within a county poll on the same day.

Polling Station Equipment.

The Returning Officer will next proceed to supply furniture for his polling stations, unless he has previously contracted to do so. It is a frequent practice now to arrange by contract for the supply of furniture and equipment for polling stations for a general election. Ballot boxes must have each a lock and key, and be of such construction as to prevent the introduction of additional papers after the presiding officer's seal has been placed thereon at the close of the poll. It must be of a size to accommodate all the ballot papers of that particular station and must bear a distinctive number. The Returning Officer is entitled to charge for the hire or repair, and the actual and necessary cost of the ballot boxes. Want of supply of sufficient ballot boxes or other election machinery will void an election, on the grounds that the constituency did not have a fair and free opportunity of electing a candidate whom the majority prefer. The provision of ballot boxes is regulated under the Treasury scale. The actual and necessary cost of conveyance of ballot boxes from the polling station to the place where the votes are counted must not exceed the third-class railway expenses, or where railway service is not available the actual and necessary cost up to the maximum of 1s. 6d. per mile.

Posters.

The Returning Officer must provide, and the presiding officer must see that he is supplied with, printed posters and placards of directions for the guidance of voters as shewn on page 219. In some divisions it is desirable to post at polling stations, and on the hoardings throughout the constituency, posters defining certain offences which in the opinion of the Returning Officer are likely to be committed during the election. In any event it is most desirable that a poster giving a summary of elections offences, as shewn below, should be exhibited within the polling station :—

SUMMARY OF ELECTION OFFENCES.

CORRUPT PRACTICES.

Offences.	Penalties.
Bribery.—No gift, loan, or promise of money or money's worth must be made to an elector to induce him either to vote or abstain from voting. The offer or promise of a situation or employment to an elector or anyone connected with him if made with the same object, is also bribery. The consequences are the same whether bribery is committed before, during, or after an election. Giving or paying money for the purpose of bribery is equivalent to the offence itself. A gift or promise to a third person to procure a vote is bribery. Payments for loss of time, wages, or travelling expenses are equal to bribery. (An employer may give reasonable leave of absence for voting purposes without stoppage of pay, provided that all electors in his employment are treated alike.) *Anyone who receives a bribe or bargains for employment or reward in return for his vote is guilty of bribery.*	*To the briber or the person bribed, twelve months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, or a fine of* £200 *Deprivation of the right of voting for seven years.* *Removal from, and disqualification for any public office.* *Payment of cost of an election enquiry in certain cases.* *If committed by the candidate he also loses his seat, if elected, and is disqualified for ever from representing the constituency.* *If committed by any agent the election is void, and the candidate is disqualified for seven years.*

Treating.—No meat, drink, entertainment or provision can be paid for or provided for any person, at any time, in order to induce him, or any other person, to vote or abstain from voting. Treating the wives or relations of electors is equally forbidden. The gift of tickets to be exchanged for refreshments is treating. *The receiver of any meat, drink, etc., is equally guilty, and liable to the same consequences.* The candidate and his agents are not allowed to provide refreshments for workers at the election.	*The same as for bribery.*
Undue Influence.—No force, restraint, or fraud may be used to compel an elector to vote, or abstain. Use of threatening any spiritual or temporal injury is undue influence. The withdrawal of custom, or a threat to do so, comes under this prohibition. A threat to evict a tenant will also be undue influence.	*The same as for bribery.*
Personation.—*Applying for* a ballot paper in the name of another person, whether living or dead. Voting twice, or voting for two divisions of a divided borough at the same election. Aiding or abetting personation. Forging or counterfeiting a ballot paper.	*To the offender, two years' imprisonment, with hard labour.* *Seven years' incapacity to vote or hold any public office.* *If committed by any agent the candidate loses his seat.*

ILLEGAL PRACTICES.

Offences.	
Conveyance.—Paying or *receiving* money for conveyance of electors to or from the poll. Private conveyances lent gratuitously can alone be employed; hackney carriages are prohibited, except when hired by electors for their own exclusive use.	*A fine of* £100. *Incapacity to vote for five years.* *If committed by an Agent, the Election may be rendered void.*
Advertising.—Paying money to an elector for exhibiting bills, etc. The *receiver* is also guilty.	
Committee Rooms.—Hiring unauthorised Committee Rooms. (The Election Agent or duly-appointed Sub-Agent *alone* may hire Committee Rooms, and the number is strictly limited.)	
Voting when prohibited or inducing a prohibited elector to vote.	
False Statement.—Publishing a false statement of the withdrawal of any candidate or any false statement of fact in relation to the personal character or conduct of a candidate.	
Public Meetings.—Breaking up or inciting others to break up or prevent a meeting being conducted between the issue of the writ and the return of the member. [At other times a penalty of fine or imprisonment.]	

PUBLISHING BILLS, placards, or posters without the printer's name and address. (The Election Agent or his duly-appointed sub-agent *alone* must issue any printed matter at the election.)	*A fine of* £100.
PAYMENT FOR BANDS OF MUSIC, torches, flags, banners, ribbons, etc.	
LENDING OR USING, for the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, vehicles or animals usually kept for hire.	
EMPLOYMENT of any person beyond the numbers allowed. (No person can be employed for payment at an election except by the Election Agent or his duly-appointed Sub-Agent, who is strictly limited as to the numbers.)	
USING A COMMITTEE ROOM in any licensed house, refreshment house, or public elementary school, or house within the school bounds.	

The presiding officer should at all times endeavour to leave the polling station in the same condition as he found it, and if any damage has been done he should at once report it to the Returning Officer.

The return of voters' compartments and other furniture is usually arranged for by the Returning Officer, and unless the presiding officer is specially instructed to do so he need not concern himself in the matter.

Counting Assistants and Clerks.

The Returning Officer may appoint a number of competent counting assistants and clerks sufficient to enable him to efficiently carry out the counting of votes. He may employ any number he desires but the cost of such assistants must not exceed £14 for 20,000, and an additional £1 for each additional 2,000. These officers must not be employed by any other person in or about the election. It is desirable that the appointments should be in writing in the following form :—

Election of member to serve in Parliament for the county (or borough or division) of to be held on the day of 19 .

I, the undersigned, being the Acting Returning Officer for the above named
hereby appoint
of
to act as counting assistant, and to attend at
for the purpose of assisting me in the counting of votes at the said election.

Dated this day of 19 .

Acting Returning Officer.

I accept the above appointment.
(Signed)

It is desirable that those appointed should attend, along with the other staff engaged, the meeting of instruction as to their duties.

Counting assistants and clerks must make the statutory declaration of secrecy before the poll opens. A counting assistant, or his partner or clerk, cannot act as agent to any candidate for which the counting assistant or clerk is acting.

A counting assistant or clerk, if he be qualified, may vote at the election, and if necessary in the manner described under " Presiding Officers."

The duties of counting assistants or clerks is fully set out in the section of this chapter headed " The Count." Generally the duties consist of assisting, as directed, the Returning Officer in the counting of the votes. The same persons employed as assistants and clerks may also be appointed to act at the dispatch of absent voters' ballot papers and the opening thereof, provided they have made the statutory declaration of secrecy. They are liable, like the presiding officer, if they commit certain offences.

Candidate's Counting Agents.

A candidate is entitled to appoint counting agents up to the number authorised by the Returning Officer, if they act gratuitously. If, however, they are employed for payment, they must be appointed by the agent or the sub-agent. Paid counting agents are not recognised, and must be found out of the agent's election staff. The appointment must be made in writing, and notice thereof delivered to the Returning Officer one clear day before the opening of the poll. The form of appointment by the agent is as follows :—

> DEAR
>
> I have appointed you to be one of the counting agents for Mr.   to attend the counting of the votes.
>
> The count will take place at   on   at   o'clock. Please be there a little before that time.
>
> Will you make the enclosed statutory declaration of secrecy before a Justice of the Peace and return to me at once.
>
> Please let me know immediately if you cannot attend.
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> Election Agent.

The form of notice of an appointment to the Returning Officer is as follows .—

NOTIFICATION OF COUNTING AGENTS' APPOINTED.

> I hereby give you notice that I have appointed the undermentioned persons to be agents on my behalf to attend the counting of the votes at the above election :—

Name.	Address.

The form should be signed by the candidate or the agent, as the case requires, and directed to the Returning Officer.

Counting agents must make the statutory declaration of secrecy before the opening of the poll.

Their duties consist of watching the counting of the votes, to see that the Returning Officer and his staff properly perform their duties, to object to any ballot paper which in their opinion should be handed to the Returning Officer for adjudication, and to challenge any paper given to the opposing candidate if in their opinion it should be submitted to the Returning Officer for his decision. Counting agents must maintain the secrecy of the poll.

A counting agent, even if he is paid, may vote. Any fee paid to him for his services must be included in the amount of his other functions. He is bound to exercise all reasonable care and skill in the performance of his duties. He has no special liabilities. A note as to what a well-known Returning Officer considers a counting agent should do is given in this chapter under "The Count."

Stationery, Furniture, and Printing.

The Returning Officer can charge to the Treasury for the purchase of stationery the actual and necessary cost, not to exceed £1 per polling station. Similarly he can recover the actual and necessary cost of general stationery, postages, telegrams, telephone messages. A list of stationery required at each polling station will be found below :—

Register of votes in the polling district, Absent Voters' List, Extract from list of proxies, Perforator, Pencils (ordinary and "ballot"), Pens, penholders and ink ; Ballot papers, Tendered ballot papers, Paper clips, Pins and drawing pins, Declarations of inability to read, List of votes marked by the presiding officer, List of tendered votes, Ballot paper account, Statutory questions (oaths and affirmations), Tape and twine, Matches, Seal and sealing wax, Envelopes (foolscap), Envelopes (small), Envelopes (large, 9in., with printed endorsement), Notepaper, Paper (foolscap, blotting, cartridge or brown, large sheets), Pentateuch and Testament, Statement of number of votes marked by the presiding officer, Cards of re-admission to polling stations, Stamping instrument, " In " and " Out " cards, Posters of " Directions to Voters," " Offences against the Ballot Act," " Caution to Electors."

Under the heading of " furniture," the Returning Officer must supply ballot boxes with locks and keys. These can usually be obtained from the local authorities. The holding of polls at a general election all on the same day increases the number required, and the Returning Officer should be certain that he is in possession of sufficient for the efficient conduct of the election. An election is void if ballot boxes or other materials for voting are not available. Every ballot box purchased is the property of the State, and should be handed over to the local authority for custody after the election.

Voting compartments present another difficulty in a general election, and care should be taken to see that ample provision is made for them. Furniture such as chairs, tables, etc., lights and fires may be provided and charged at actual and necessary cost. Stamping instruments may be purchased, hired, altered, or repaired, and charged at actual and necessary cost. As the official mark shall be marked on both sides of the ballot paper, and as such mark may be either stamped or perforated on the ballot paper, an embossing or perforating machine is the most convenient.

The official mark may be any word, letter, combination of letters, cipher, or design whatever; but whatever be the mark, the Returning Officer shall keep it secret, and an interval of not less than seven years shall intervene between the use of the same official mark at elections for the same county or borough. This provision has been applied to municipal and local government elections, and thus an official mark, used within seven years at any municipal or local government election, cannot be used at a parliamentary election for the same county, division, or borough.

Printing.

The first and most important concern under this heading is, of course, the provision of ballot papers. Each polling station must be supplied with a number equal to the total number of registered voters at the station, with an additional allowance for spoils. The ballot papers must be printed and numbered in the prescribed pattern, as given in the Ballot Act, and have printed thereon the names, addresses, and descriptions of all the candidates, as shewn on their nomination papers. They must be printed in strict alphabetical order of candidates' surnames.

Tendered ballot papers must also be provided, printed on a different colour paper, but in every other respect to correspond with the other ballot papers. The papers must be made up into books, capable of being cut. A record of the numbers supplied to each station should be kept, and a receipt therefor taken from the presiding officer.

The actual and necessary cost of printing and the conveyance of ballot papers to the polling stations is chargeable against the Treasury, as also is the cost of voters' registers, including Absent Voters' Lists.

All forms, books and other publications required for use by Returning and Presiding Officers during an election can be obtained from the publishers of this work. (See advertisement pages.)

Candidate's Polling or Personation Agent.

Any person, whether elector or not, can be appointed to this post provided he is not employed by the Returning Officer, or a partner or clerk of either of them.

The appointment is usually made by the agent or the sub-agent, and the fee agreed upon on the following form :—

> I have appointed you to act as polling or personation agent at the polling station on polling day, the day of . Please read carefully the enclosed instructions and be at the station at least ten minutes before a.m. You must at once attend before a Justice of the Peace and make the enclosed statutory declaration of secrecy, which must be returned to me immediately.
>
> Please call at the committee room not later than on the evening of to collect the marked copy of the register.
>
> Your inclusive fee is
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> Election Agent.

The notification to the Returning Officer of appointment is as follows, and must be given at least 24 hours before the opening of the poll :—

> I, , being a candidate at the above election do hereby give you notice that I have appointed the under mentioned persons to act as polling or personation agents on my behalf.

Polling District.	No. of Station.	Name of Polling or Personation Agent.	Address.

(Signed) Candidate.

Date

To the
Returning Officer.

If the appointment is for one station only, the person appointed cannot act at any other station. Only one polling agent can be appointed for payment at each station.

There is no limit to the number of volunteers. Every polling agent must make the statutory declaration of secrecy. The presiding officer usually provides the polling agent with a seat at his own table, and he can demand that the polling agent keep to that seat.

The polling agent must not hold any secret communication with a voter. If he wishes to leave the polling station, he must first of all obtain from the presiding officer his permission to return. He is liable to be removed from the station if he disregards the orders of the presiding officer. He must at all times maintain the secrecy of the ballot. He may vote if his employment is legal.

Summarised his duties are as follows :—

(*a*) To prevent any person, other than the real person on the register, from voting by himself or by proxy, and any person from voting by himself or by proxy a second time.
(*b*) To keep, upon his copy of the register, a correct record of the voters who have polled.
(*c*) To take an exact note of any irregularity, or of anything unusual occurring in the station.
(*d*) To be present at the marking by the presiding officer of the votes of blind, physically incapable, Jewish, or illiterate voters.

Personation is defined as follows : "A person shall be deemed to be guilty of the offence of personation who at an election applies for a ballot paper in the name of some other person, whether that name be that of a person living or dead, or of a fictitious person, or who, having voted once at any such election, applies at the same election for a ballot paper in his own name."

A polling agent is entitled to require the statutory questions to be put to any voter, and to request the arrest of any voter whom he may declare, and undertake to prove, to have been guilty of personation.

There are no special liabilities attached to the office of the polling agent.

Particularly he must bear in mind the number of votes which may be registered by a voter at a general election.

> A man shall not vote at a general election for more than one constituency for which he is registered by virtue of a residence qualification, or for more than one constituency for which he is registered by virtue of other qualifications of whatever kind. A woman shall not vote at a general election for more than one constituency for which she is registered by virtue of her own or her husband's local government qualification, or for more than one constituency for which she is registered by virtue of any other qualification. Any person, who, at a general election, votes, or asks for a ballot paper for the purpose of voting, for more constituencies than he is entitled to vote for, is guilty of an illegal practice. Provided that the fact that any person has asked for a ballot paper in a constituency in circumstances which entitle him only to mark a tendered ballot paper shall not, if he does not exercise that right, prevent his voting or asking for a ballot paper in another constituency.

He must also know the provisions under which a person may vote by proxy.

> A person on the Absent Voters' List who has appointed a proxy, and for whom a proxy paper for any constituency has been issued in accordance with the Representation of the People Act, 1918, is entitled to vote by proxy in that constituency, and a person to whom a proxy paper has been issued authorising him to vote for an elector who is on the register shall be entitled to demand and receive a ballot paper, provided that a ballot paper shall not be delivered to a person who claims to vote as proxy for the purpose of so voting unless he produces the proxy paper to the presiding officer at the polling station; and provided that the time for which the proxy paper is in force has not expired, and that the proxy paper has not been cancelled. A proxy vote is given at the polling station at which the elector, on whose behalf the vote is recorded, would be entitled to vote if he were not on the Absent Voters' List.

The polling agent must be at his station not later than ten minutes before the opening of the poll. He will be provided by the agent with a marked copy of the register of his polling station. He must see that the ballot box is empty before it is locked and sealed up by the Returning Officer. At the close of the poll the slit in the ballot box must be closed and sealed and, if desired, he may add his own seal to that of the presiding officer.

He must see that the official mark is placed on every ballot paper before issue to the voter. If his marked register shows against the name of a voter that he is "dead," "ill," etc., and a person purporting to be the voter comes to vote, he is entitled to ask for, and the presiding officer is bound to put, the statutory questions, or if necessary to adminster the statutory oath.

The following are the statutory questions :—

Question 1.—Are you the same person whose name appears as on the register of electors now in force for the parliamentary county of (or for the division of the parliamentary county of , or for the parliamentary borough of , or for the division of the parliamentary borough of , as the case may be)?

Question 2.—Have you already voted, either here or elsewhere, at this election for the parliamentary county of (or for the division of the parliamentary county of , or for the parliamentary borough of , or for the division of the parliamentary borough of as the case may be) ?

Question 3.—(In the case of a man voting in respect of a residence qualification) :—Have you already voted at this general election in respect of a residence qualification ?

Question 4.—(In the case of a man voting in respect of a qualification other than a residence qualification) :—Have you already voted at the general election in respect of a qualification other than a residence qualification ?

Question 5.—(In the case of a woman voting at an election other than a University election) :—Have you already voted at this general election ?

Question 6.—Are you the same person whose name appears as in this proxy paper as entitled to vote as proxy on behalf of ?

Question 7.—Have you already voted as proxy on behalf of either here or elsewhere at this election for the parliamentary county of (or for the division of the parliamentary county of or, for the parliamentary borough of or for the division of the parliamentary borough of as the case may be ?

Question 8.—(In the case of a person voting as proxy on behalf of a man registered in respect of a residence qualification) :—Have you already voted at this general election on behalf of in respect of a residence qualification ?

Question 9.—(In the case of a person voting as proxy on behalf of a man registered in respect of a qualification other than a residence qualification) :—Have you already voted at this general election on behalf of in respect of a qualification other than a residence qualification ?

Question 10.—(In the case of a person voting as proxy on behalf of a woman at an election other than a University election) :—Have you already voted on behalf of at this general election ?

If the polling agent has any reason to doubt the truth of the answers to question No. 1 or No. 2, or in the case of a person claiming to vote as proxy, question No. 6 or No. 7, he may have them repeated in the form of an oath or affirmation, following the same words as above.

If any person applies for a ballot paper who has voted before, or who the polling agent knows is not the person he pretends to be, he may inform the presiding officer, who will, after taking the vote, give the person into custody. He must be very careful, however, that he has good grounds for charging the voter with personation.

He must strike out on his copy of the register the name of each voter as he receives a ballot paper, and see that the presiding officer marks his register also. If a person applies for a ballot paper, and one has already been handed out in his name, the polling agent should see that the presiding officer issues a " tendered ballot paper " and mark his own register " Tendered Vote."

Blind, illiterate, or infirm voters may record their votes in the presence of the polling agent by having their ballot papers marked as directed by the voter. Jewish electors, when the poll is on a Saturday, may vote in a similar way if they desire to do so. The polling station must be cleared of everybody on such an occasion. No unauthorised person is allowed into the station. Voters immediately they have voted must leave.

At the close of the poll he must see that the presiding officer makes up into separate packets and seals with his own seal (1) The sealed ballot box, with key attached; (2) All unused and spoilt ballot papers; (3) The tendered ballot papers; (4) The copies of the register marked by the presiding officer, and the counterfoils of the ballot papers; (5) The list of tendered votes, the list of votes marked by the presiding officer, and a statement of number of voters whose papers the presiding officer has marked. The polling agent may attach his seal to the packets so made up.

After the close of the poll he should return his copy of the register to the committee room, together with a note of the total number who have voted, and a report of any cases of personation, or of irregularity on the part of the presiding officer or his assistants.

As to the time, method, and legal definitions of the opening and closing of the poll, see under " Presiding Officer " in this chapter.

The Writ.

The writ is issued by the Lord Chancellor from the office of the Clerk of the Crown, except in certain cases when it is issued on the Speaker's warrant to the Clerk of the Crown. In the case of a vacancy during recess, the Speaker gives seven days' notice in the *London Gazette* of his intention to issue his warrant.

The form of writ is given in the Ballot Act. In a general election, a separate writ is issued for each county or division, and in by-elections for each separate vacancy. Official intimation of issue can be given by telegram and can be acted upon as though the writ had been received. It is delivered by messenger within five miles of Westminster, and through the post office in all other cases. The Returning Officer must give a receipt for the writ and endorse on the back thereof the date he received it.

Notice of Election.

Notice of election must be given by the Returning Officer of a county within two days after the day on which he receives the writ, and in the case of a borough on the same or following day of receipt. Sundays, Christmas Day, Good Friday, public fast, and thanksgiving days are excluded. Bank holidays are to be treated as an ordinary day. If anything to be done falls on an *excluded* day, it must be performed the next day. Notice should be given between 9.0 a.m. and 4.0 p.m. by public notice. Placards, handbills, and other means of advertisement are sufficient.

In the case of a county division the Returning Officer must send by post on the same day a notice of election to the principal postmaster in each polling district. The notices are sent free of charge. The postmaster must display the notice. The Returning Officer, or his authorised deputy, should sign the original notice. The contents of the notice should be the day of election, time, place, information as to obtaining nomination forms, and the day of poll if there is more than one candidate. In a general election nomination day is fixed by proclamation. In the case of a *by-election* in a county or district borough, it shall be not later than the ninth day after the receipt of the writ. In the case of a borough it shall not be later than the fourth. In the former case there shall be an interval of not less than three clear days between notice of election and nomination. In the case of a borough not less than two.

Nomination.

The time of nomination shall be two hours between 10.0 a.m. and 3.0 p.m. Nominations should be held at a place within the constituency in which the vacancy has occurred.

Nomination papers should be handed on demand to any registered elector, or to the candidates' agents, between the hours stated on the notice.

At nominations, the Returning Officer will receive the papers from the candidate if he attends in person, and shall admit to the room, the candidate, his proposer, seconder and one other person (usually the election agent). Nominations must be on the prescribed form. Each candidate must be nominated on separate forms, being proposed and seconded by registered electors, and the nomination assented to by eight registered electors. The candidate must be described in such a manner as, in the opinion of the Returning Officer, is sufficient for identification purposes. The description must include the name, abode, rank, profession or calling of the candidate. His surname should come first. Below will be found specimen forms filled in .—

Surname.	Other names.	Abode.	Rank, profession or description.
Smith ..	Robert William ..	The Homestead, Tenderten, Kent.	Director of Public Companies.
Brown ..	John Robert C.B., D.S.O.,	21, Park Lane, London, W.1.	Admiral of H.M. Navy (Retired)
Robinson ..	Sir Thomas .. Bt.	The Chequers, .. Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire.	Banker.

The abode should be the candidate's residence, where he lives or sleeps, and not his place of business. A nomination paper cannot be altered or added to after signature. Signatures need not be written in full, but may be ordinary signatures, and they must be affixed by the elector and not by the agent. The candidate, or someone on his behalf, shall during the time of nomination deposit with the Returning Officer £150 in legal tender, for which a receipt shall be given.

The agent's appointment must be made in writing, and handed to the Returning Officer on or before nomination day, and not later than the time of nomination. It must be made before any expense is incurred.

Publication of Nominations.

Upon receipt of a nomination, the Returning Officer must publish it *forthwith.* He must not wait for objections. Objections can be lodged by various persons, including opposing candidates or agents, other persons who are entitled to be present at nominations, and any person having a right to vote at the election. Objections may be made during nominations, or within one hour afterwards, and the Returning Officer must sit for the extra hour to receive objections. The Returning Officer's decision as to the validity of an objection to a nomination paper is final if he disallows it, but if he allows the objection, it is subject to reversal on petition.

It is open to any candidate or agent to give notice of a desire that the polling hours shall commence at 7.0 a.m. instead of 8.0 a.m., or be extended from 8.0 p.m. to 9.0 p.m., or both. The notice must be given during the hours of nomination, or within one hour afterwards. The notice should be in the following terms .—

> In pursuance of the Extension of Polling Hours Act, 1913, s.i., I,   , a candidate at the above election (or I,   , election agent for   , a candidate, etc.), HEREBY GIVE NOTICE that I wish the poll to commence at seven o'clock in the forenoon (or to be kept open till nine o'clock in the afternoon or to commence at seven o'clock in the forenoon and be kept open till nine o'clock in the afternoon).
>
> Dated this   day of   19   .
>
> (or   , Election Agent for   )
>
> To the Returning Officer.

Should a candidate withdraw, the deposit shall be returned to the person by whom the deposit was made. When a candidate is returned to Parliament, his deposit shall be returned to him as soon as he has taken the oath as a member.

A candidate may withdraw during the two hours of nomination by giving written notice, but not afterwards. The Returning Officer should at once publish notice of withdrawal. A candidate is deemed to have withdrawn if he does not make the statutory deposit within the appointed time.

Unopposed Nomination.

If a candidate is returned unopposed, the Returning Officer must at once declare such candidate elected, endorse the writ accordingly, and forward it to the Clerk of the Crown. He should at once publish by public notice the name of the candidate elected by such means as he thinks best calculated to give information to the electors. The printer's imprint must appear on all bills, placards, etc.

In the case of a county election, the Returning Officer shall deliver to the principal postmaster of the town of the election the names of nominated candidates, and the date of polling day. The postmaster in turn will telegraph this information free of charge to the telegraph offices in the division. The form of notice is as follows :—

The names of the candidates nominated at this election are as follows :—

The poll will be taken on the day
of instant.
Dated this day of 19 .
(Signed)

Returning Officer.

To the Postmaster,
Head Office.

Date of Poll.

In the case of a general election all polls are now held on the same day, *i.e.*, the ninth day after the day of nomination. In the case of a by-election in any constituency, the poll must take place on a day not less than four, or more than eight, clear days after nominations. Once fixed and announced, the date of poll cannot be altered or postponed. In order to give time for dispatch, receipt and return of absent voters' ballot papers, the poll should be taken on the latest practicable day.

In the event of the death, before the opening of the poll, of a duly nominated candidate, the returning officer shall countermand the notice of the poll and commence afresh at the notice of election stage.

Notice of Poll.

In the event of a contest the Returning Officer must, as soon after nominations as possible, give notice of poll by such means as he thinks desirable. He must state in the notice the day of poll, hours of poll, the names of candidates as described in their respective nomination papers, the names of proposers, etc., of the candidates, the order in which the names of the candidates will appear on the ballot papers, the situation of the polling stations, the numbers of the voters entitled to vote at each, and the mode in which the electors are to vote.

Issue of Absent Voters' Ballot Papers.

The Returning Officer should proceed immediately with the sending out of ballot papers to the absent voters. The papers must be exactly similar to those issued to ordinary electors and accompanied by a declaration of identity. He must, not later than nomination day, advise the agents of the time and place of issue of the ballot papers, and of the number of persons each agent may appoint to attend. Candidates may attend both the issue and the opening of the papers. The agent will in turn advise the Returning Officer, at least one clear day before the issue, of the names and addresses of those appointed to attend at the time of issue. The Returning Officer can refuse to admit any person acting on behalf of a candidate who, even although appointed, has not made the statutory declaration of secrecy. A candidate need not make the declaration, but it is advisable that he should. All officers, assistants, or clerks attending the issue must make the declaration. The procedure of issue involves the marking of each ballot paper with the same official mark as is to be used at the poll. The full name, etc., of the voter, as on the Absent Voters' List, must be marked on the counterfoil, and a mark, but no ballot paper number, placed against the entry in the list to denote issue of ballot paper. The second operation is to write on the form of declaration, which accompanies the ballot paper, the number of the ballot paper issued. Thirdly, the ballot paper, declaration of identity, covering envelope, and ballot paper envelope (the latter bearing the number of the ballot paper), shall be placed in an envelope addressed to the absent voter and closed down. The packets shall then be taken to the post office and the postmaster will give a receipt for the number of packets posted. After completing the issue, the marked copy of the register, and the counterfoils of the ballot papers, should be sealed in separate packets and retained until the time for forwarding to the Clerk of the Crown.

Information will be supplied from time to time by the Admiralty, Army Council, Air Council, and Board of Trade as will enable the Returning Officer to send the ballot paper to the address of the absent voter.

The Poll.

The poll must be opened at the time stated in the notice of poll, *i.e.*, 7.0 a.m. or 8.0 a.m., and the presiding officer and his clerks must be at the polling station just before the time to see that everything is in order. The work of these officers on polling day is given under the sections of this chapter entitled "Presiding Officers," "Poll Clerks," etc.

Death of Candidate.

One special point of interest arises in the case of the death of a candidate *after* the poll has opened. There is no provision for an adjournment of the poll in this event. The election must proceed as if he were alive, and, if elected, his name should be returned to the Clerk of the Crown. If he dies before nomination the Returning Officer will countermand the notice of poll and commence afresh (Ballot Act, Section 1). A new writ will be issued in due course.

The poll must not be closed before the statutory hour, *i.e.*, 8.0 p.m. or 9.0 p.m. An election may be avoided on these grounds. The supply of ballot papers to electors must cease at the statutory hour, and no voters may be admitted to the polling station after that hour, nor must any votes be received from voters after time except from those who have obtained admission to the station *and* have applied for and received ballot papers before such hour.

The poll being closed, the station cleared, and the ballot boxes sealed in the presence of poll clerks, polling agents, or constables, and the various packages of papers made up and sealed, the ballot box and the packages must forthwith be delivered by the presiding officer and at least one of his poll clerks to the place appointed by the Returning Officer. The Returning Officer has power to postpone the counting until the morning after the close of the poll. He is, however, responsible for the safe custody overnight of the ballot boxes and papers.

The Count.

The Returning Officer is required to give to candidates and agents at least 24 hours' notice in writing of the time and place of the count, both of absent voters' votes and of the main count, and the election agent is required to deliver to the Returning Officer at least 24 hours before the opening of the poll the names and addresses of the candidates' counting agents, all of whom must have made declarations of secrecy before entering the counting room. It is usual for agents to supply this information and the declarations early in the election in order to permit of the Returning Officer issuing cards of admission to those authorised to be present. It is advisable for a candidate to make the declaration of secrecy.

Due regard will have been paid by the Returning Officer to the preparations for the count, the provision and instruction of staff, their declarations of secrecy, the supply of suitable furniture and materials, etc.

The first count is the absent voters and this should take place just prior to the main count. One or more ballot boxes will have been provided by the Returning Officer for the reception of the returned envelopes. The box or boxes will have been sealed by him in the presence of the agents and marked "Absent Voters' Ballot Box," followed by the name of the constituency. On receipt from the post office of the returned envelopes, they must be immediately placed in this box. It is desirable to re-seal the box after each batch has been deposited therein. All returned envelopes received by the Returning Officer up to the close of the poll must be counted. The actual counting should commence in the presence of agents. The returned envelopes shall then be opened separately, the declaration of identity examined, and the number on the ballot paper envelope checked with the number on the declaration. If the declarations are in order, the opening of the ballot paper envelopes is proceeded with, comparing the number thereon with the number on the ballot paper.

The circumstances under which he can reject absent votes are :—If he is *not* satisfied that the declaration of identity has been duly signed and authenticated, he shall endorse the declaration of identity "vote rejected," and shall attach thereto the ballot paper envelope, without opening such envelope, or if there is no such envelope, the ballot paper.

If he finds that the numbers on the declaration of identity and on the ballot paper envelope do not agree, or if the envelope has no number on it, he shall open the envelope, and if the number on the ballot paper agrees with the number on the declaration of identity he shall place the ballot paper in the ballot box.

In every case in which the number on the ballot paper does not agree with the number on the declaration of identity, he shall replace the ballot paper in its envelope (if any), attach such envelope or ballot paper, as the case may be, to the declaration of identity and endorse it "vote rejected."

Any declaration not accompanied by a ballot paper, and any ballot paper not accompanied by a declaration of identity shall be marked "rejected."

The Returning Officer shall show any declaration of identity, which he proposes to reject on the ground that it has not been properly signed and authenticated, to the agents, and, if an objection is made by any agent to his decision, he shall add to the endorsement the words "rejection objected to."

The Returning Officer shall keep all rejected declarations with the attached envelopes or ballot papers, as the case may be, separate from other documents.

When the covering envelopes in any absent voters ballot box have been opened and their contents dealt with under the two preceding rules, the Returning Officer shall open each unopened ballot paper envelope and compare the number on the envelope with the number on the ballot paper. If the numbers agree he shall place the ballot paper in a ballot box. If the numbers do not agree he shall mark the ballot paper "rejected," and shall attach it to the envelope.

It is of the most importance that secrecy be observed at these proceedings. No agents must be allowed to see the number or the marking of a ballot paper.

The opening and checking having been completed, the following packets should be made up and sealed in the presence of the agents :—

> The declarations of identity which accompanied any ballot papers duly accepted.
>
> Any rejected declarations of identity with envelopes (if any) attached thereto.
>
> Any rejected ballot papers with envelopes (if any) attached thereto.

In addition to the above, envelopes which are returned as undelivered are not to be opened, but the Returning Officer shall (subject to any power of re-addressing them) seal them up into separate packets.

All the above packets must be retained by the Returning Officer for transmission subsequently to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.

Organising the Count.

Shakespeare's advice, "Let your haste commend your duty," is a golden rule for those in charge of an election count.

The period of waiting while the votes are being counted is at the best an anxious one for the candidates concerned, and to some temperaments the suspense is a serious nervous ordeal.

For that reason, as well as on account of the fact that the public is, as a rule, eagerly awaiting the result of the contest, every effort should be made to carry through the count with the utmost celerity.

The suggestions put forward in this section are based upon information very kindly supplied by Sir Charles E. Longmore, K.C.B., ex-President of the Law Society, who presided as Acting Returning Officer for Hertford in the by-election of 1921, when Admiral Murray F. Sueter won such a decisive victory.

The arrangements of Sir Charles on that occasion commanded such general satisfaction and approbation that they probably cannot be materially improved.

The essence of a good count is a carefully instructed staff, acting under perfect discipline. That secured, the rest is easy.

The best method of arranging the counting room is for the table of the Returning Officer to be placed at one end of the room, and the tables that are to accommodate the official counters and the candidates' counting agents placed at intervals around the room near to the wall. In the centre of the room the ballot boxes are accommodated.

It is an advantage for the Returning Officer's table to be elevated on a dais above the floor level, as this enables him to see everything that is going on. On either side of him are seated the election agents of the respective candidates, and the candidates themselves.

The number of counting tables will vary according to the number of electors and the estimated poll. For a reasonably expeditious count one table should be allocated for every 2,500 votes.

Five persons will sit at each table. The senior official counter will sit in the centre with an assistant counter on either side. At each end of the table will sit the candidates' counting agents.

It assists in the avoidance of mistakes if cardboard slips, bearing in bold letters the names of the respective candidates, are affixed to the table on either side of the senior official counter. The candidates' counting agents will be seated beside the name of the opposing candidate.

When everyone is seated the count will begin, and thereafter no one must be allowed to move about the room with the exception of the deputy to the Returning Officer and his chief assistant.

The first operation is to check the number of ballot papers in each box and see that the total corresponds with that returned by the presiding officer of each polling station. During this operation there must be no attempt on the part of anyone to ascertain the voting tendency of any particular district or to separate the votes.

The Returning Officer's deputy and his assistant will hand the boxes to the tables one by one, and remove them to the centre of the room once more after the papers have been counted and replaced in the boxes.

The candidates' representatives at each table may assist in straightening the ballot papers and checking their number. As the total in each box is arrived at, the senior official counter will fill up and sign a return of ballot papers for each polling district, and send it up to the Returning Officer's table, together with the ballot papers account. If they agree, the total will be entered by the Returning Officer on the summary of returns as to number of ballot papers in ballot boxes.

Once it has been established that the number of ballot papers corresponds with the returns of the presiding officers—or, alternatively, that the respective agents have agreed to waive objections to any slight discrepancy discovered—the real count begins.

At this stage the absent voters call for first attention. These papers are usually counted an hour or two before the main count opens. The preliminary operation is the counting of the envelopes to see that the number agrees with the postmaster's return of the number delivered to the Returning Officer. When he announces that the number tally, the counting assistants will proceed to open each covering envelope separately.

The covering envelope should contain a declaration of identity and also an inner envelope, called a ballot paper envelope. On each of these there is a number. The counting assistants should see that the number on each is the same. They must also examine the declaration of identity and see that it is duly signed and witnessed. If it is in order, the ballot paper envelope should be placed in one bundle and the declarations of identity in another.

If it is not in order, the declaration of identity and the ballot paper envelope and the envelope from which they have been taken should be attached together and sent by one of the messengers to the Returning Officer for adjudication in the presence of the election agents.

After the whole of this process has been carried through, the Returning Officer will announce the fact, and the declarations of identity will all be collected by one of the messengers and placed together, and also the covering envelopes which have been opened. Then the counters will open the ballot paper envelopes, comparing as they do so the number on them with the number on the ballot paper inside.

If they agree, the counters will place the ballot paper in the ballot box which has been previously sealed up. If the numbers do not agree, the ballot paper and the envelope in which it was enclosed must be attached together and sent by one of the messengers to the Returning Officer for adjudication.

When all the ballot papers have been placed in ballot boxes, the latter will be placed in readiness for the main count.

Opening the Main Count.

This is opened by the Returning Officer mixing the ballot papers in the various boxes, so that no box contains exactly the same papers it originally held. The object of this is to render it impossible for any person to analyse the voting at any particular polling station, and it should therefore be done thoroughly.

The Returning Officer and his chief assistant will now commence to empty the ballot boxes on to the counting tables, and continue to keep the tables supplied with ballot papers until the conclusion of the counting.

To make the subsequent procedure clear we will assume that the candidates are Mr. Brown and Mr. Robinson. The chief official counter at each table, as he sorts the ballot papers, will pass those containing votes for Brown to the assistant counter seated on the side at which Brown's name is affixed to the table, and those containing votes for Robinson to his assistant on the other side. The assistants will count the votes into twenties, and pass them on to be checked by the counting agents of the respective candidates seated beside them, Brown's counting agent receiving Robinson's votes and *vice versa*. The papers should then be tied in bundles of twenty and afterwards in bundles of one hundred.

If there is the slightest doubt as to how any particular vote should be counted, it should be sent to the table of the Returning Officer, who adjudicates upon it at once in the presence of the agents, and sends it back to one of the other tables to be counted in accordance with his decision.

Prompt Adjudication on Doubtful Votes.

It is very important that, so far as possible, all these decisions should be come to at once before it is known whether the contest is a close one. Experience shows that it is easier to adjudicate upon a vote at an early stage, as when it becomes known that only a small number of votes divide the candidates their agents will fight quite hopeless questions.

The rejected papers are retained by the Returning Officer, who endorses his decision upon them.

Spoiled Papers.

A voting paper may be declared spoiled for any of the following reasons: (1) not bearing upon it the official mark, (2) containing votes for more candidates than the voter is entitled to vote for, (3) having written or marked upon it anything, except the printed number on the back, by which the voter can be identified, (4) containing no mark at all, and (5) void by reason of its uncertainty.

A great deal of space would be required to enter fully into this and to produce in facsimile the "doubtful" voting papers upon which ruling decisions have been made. Fortunately, this is quite unnecessary. Returning Officers are well acquainted with that excellent work, "Parker's Election Agent and Returning Officer" (Charles Knight & Co., Ltd.), in which the matter is adequately treated.

The chief official counter at each table, when he has concluded his counting, should enter the result on the form reproduced below (Form No. 1).

TOTAL NO. OF VOTES.

TABLE NO. 1.

BROWN	
ROBINSON	

Counted by us

Official Counters.

Form No. 1.

SUMMARY OF VOTES.

Table	BROWN	ROBINSON
No. 1		
,, 2		
,, 3		
,, 4		
,, 5		
,, 6		
Totals		

Form No. 2.

This form, when completed, he will send up to the table of the Returning Officer who, as each form reaches him, will make a corresponding entry on the summary of votes (Form No. 2). When this is complete, he will agree the result of the poll with the agents, and all is ready for the declaration.

Nobody must leave the room for any cause whatever until the counting has been concluded, and even then not until the Returning Officer is prepared to announce the result. No signal or communication with people outside may be made.

Before making the public declaration outside, it is usual for the Returning Officer to declare the figures in the counting room. This affords the successful candidate an opportunity to move, and the unsuccessful candidate to second, the customary votes of thanks to the Returning Officer, who replies briefly.

The public declaration and publication of the result follows immediately. Usually the former is made from a balcony or some other position at the building where the count has been conducted. As there is always a great deal of hubbub on these occasions, limiting the range of the Returning Officer's voice, a large blackboard giving the result should also be displayed.

As for the rest of the non-public legal formalities which the Returning Officer is required to observe, are they not written in the book of "Parker" previously referred to in this chapter?

Before closing, however, a word or two may be necessary to the agents. They will assist Returning Officers in no small degree if they notify at the earliest possible moment in any election (1) the appointment of agent and sub-agents, (2) name and full description of candidate, (3) appointment of personation agents and counting agents, visitors, if allowed, together with the declarations of secrecy from each and also from the candidate and the election agent.

Many Returning Officers admit a number of friends of both sides to the count. Where this is done their names should be notified early to allow the Returning Officer to issue admittance cards or prepare a list for the guidance of the police at the door of the counting room. I always get my visitors to the count to make the declaration of secrecy.

Finally, the importance of everyone remaining seated in their allotted position until the end of the count cannot be over emphasized. Agents must impress this upon those they invite. They should be in their places at the appointed time for the count to begin, only the candidates being allowed to come in at a later stage. On such a day they have claim to special indulgence!

The count just described is for that of two candidates for one vacancy. Counts of a more complicated nature are given in Appendix 1 of "Parker," and the cases given there can be altered to suit any particular count where more than two candidates' votes have to be counted.

The Returning Officer can order a recount, and a candidate or his agent can demand a recount, before the result has been declared. After declaration, the mistake can only be rectified by filing an election petition or praying a recount.

A Returning Officer has the power to give a casting vote, if he is a registered elector of the county, division or borough. If he has no vote, he has no casting vote. He cannot give an original vote (*i.e.*, at the poll) for any division in which he is acting as Returning Officer, but he may do so if he is a registered elector in any division where he is not so acting. Although he has power to give a casting vote as above, he is not bound to do so and may decline. If a tie is found to exist, it is submitted that the Returning Officer, being qualified, should give the casting vote and so avoid the inconvenience of another poll.

A Returning Officer can adjourn the count. This is very often necessary in the case of a long and complicated count, in order to give those present an opportunity of taking refreshment. It must be distinctly understood, however, that under no circumstances may those present be allowed out of the counting room, or be given an opportunity to disclose any information to outsiders as to the progress of the count, or in any way to infringe their declarations of secrecy. In cases where adjournment is necessary, refreshments can be served in a convenient ante-room, when all doors or means of exit have been locked or guarded.

After the Count.

Upon completion of the counting, the Returning Officer shall seal up in separate packets the counted and rejected ballot papers. He shall not open the sealed packets of tendered ballot papers used, or those containing the registers of voters, counterfoils of ballot papers used, and the chief constable's certificates. He must open the sealed packets containing the unused and spoilt ballot papers, tendered and ordinary, and also the packets containing the tendered votes lists, for he shall, in the presence of such agents of the candidates as are authorised to attend, and do attend, proceed to verify the ballot paper account given by each presiding officer, by comparing it with the number of ballot papers recorded by him (the Returning Officer) as aforesaid, and the unused and spoilt ballot papers in his possession, and the tendered votes list. He shall then re-seal each packet so opened for examination by him. He shall report to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery the result of such verification, and also the number of ballot papers rejected and not counted by him as follows :—

To the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.

I, the undersigned, being the Acting Returning Officer of the above-named constituency, do hereby report that the number of ballot papers rejected and not counted by me is   the same being rejected and not counted for the following reasons, viz. :—

Want of Official Mark	Voting for more Candidates than entitled to	Writing or Mark by which Voter could be Identified	Unmarked or Void for Uncertainty	Missing or Invalid Declarations of Identity of Absent Voters Voting by Post	Disagreement of Numbers on Ballot Papers and Ballot Paper Envelopes of Absent Voters Voting by Post

(*Signed*)   Acting Returning Officer.

The Returning Officer shall, on request, allow any agents of the candidates before such report is sent, to copy it.

The next operation is the form of return and the endorsement of the writ to the Clerk of the Crown. It must be done by the Returning Officer's own hand. The writ and return must then be delivered to the postmaster, and a receipt taken. The writ and return should be sent separately and not with the packages of ballot papers, etc. The Returning Officer should next forward to the Clerk of the Crown a report as follows .—

> TO THE CLERK OF THE CROWN IN CHANCERY.
>
> I, the undersigned, being the Acting Returning Officer of the above-named constituency, do hereby report that I have verified the ballot paper accounts given me by each presiding officer, and the ballot paper account made by me at the issue of ballot papers to absent voters voting by post by comparing the same with the number of ballot papers respectively recorded, the unused and spoilt ballot papers in their respective possession, and in my possession after the issue of ballot papers to absent voters voting by post, and the tendered votes' lists, and that the result of such verification is that the said accounts are correct (excepting in the following particulars, viz. :—there are unused and spoiled ballot papers not accounted for ; tendered ballot papers not accounted for).
>
> Acting Returning Officer.

He should also forward the following packages of documents .—

(1) The counted ballot papers, made up into one packet and sealed by him ;

(2) The rejected ballot papers made up into one packet and sealed by him ;

(3) The Returning Officer's report as to the rejected ballot papers, and as to the result of his verification of the presiding officers' ballot paper accounts, made up into one packet and sealed by the Returning Officer ;

(4) The ballot paper accounts made by the several presiding officers, made up into one packet and sealed by the Returning Officer ;

(5) The several packets of unused and spoiled ballot papers, sealed up by, and received from, the several presiding officers, and made up into one packet and sealed by the Returning Officer ;

(6) The several packets of tendered ballot papers used, sealed up by, and received from, the several presiding officers, and made up into one packet and sealed by the Returning Officer ;

(7) The marked copies of the registers, the counterfoils of the ballot papers, and the chief constable's certificates, sealed up by, and received from, the several presiding officers, and made up into one packet and sealed by the Returning Officer ;

(8) The tendered voters' lists, the lists of votes marked by the several presiding officers, the statements of the numbers of voters whose votes are so marked, using a separate envelope (to comply with the request made by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery in January, 1912), and the declarations of inability to read, sealed up by, and received from, the several presiding officers, opened by the Returning Officer, and made up into one packet and sealed by the Returning Officer ;

(9) Declarations of identity of absent voters which accompanied any ballot papers duly accepted ;

(10) Rejected declarations of identity ;

(11) Rejected ballot papers of absent voters ;

(12) Any covering envelopes received too late ;

(13) Any envelope returned as undelivered and not re-addressed to the absent voter ;

(14) A statement in the form as directed by the Minister of Health.

Each packet must be endorsed with a description of the contents, date of election, and the constituency. The packages must be handed to the postmaster, who shall give a receipt. The Returning Officer at time of dispatch will forward a letter to the Clerk of the Crown advising him of the dispatch.

Candidates' Deposits.

After the declaration of the result of the election, the Returning Officer must in due course, as far as he is legally able, dispose of the deposit which each candidate made at the time of nomination as required by the Representation of the People Act, 1918, s. 26, sub. 1.

If the candidate who has made the required deposit is not elected, and the number of votes polled by him does not exceed, in the case of a constituency returning one or two members, one-eighth of the total number of votes polled, the amount deposited shall be forfeited to His Majesty. In the case of a constituency returning more than two members the amount deposited is forfeited by any candidate who fails to poll more than one-eighth of the total number of votes polled divided by the number of members to be elected. In any other case the amount he has deposited is to be returned to the candidate, if elected, as soon as he has taken the oath as member, and if not elected, as soon as practicable after the result of the election is declared.

Where a candidate has not polled the requisite number of votes, or where he has been nominated in more than one constituency, the Returning Officer should forward the deposit within a fortnight of the declaration of the poll to the Treasury in the form of a cheque drawn by him in favour of the paymaster-general (Treasury Regulations (regd.) dated 30th December, 1918).

For the purpose of the above enactment the number of votes polled is the number of ballot papers (other than spoilt ballot papers) counted.

The Returning Officer who is responsible for the return of the deposit to an elected candidate will require some proof that the latter has taken the oath as Member of Parliament, since the deposit is not returnable until that event has taken place.

Returning Officer's Fees and Charges.

The amount of the fees and charges of Returning Officers is now regulated by the Representation of the People Act, 1918. The charges must be reasonable within the Treasury Scale. The amount is paid by the State; the items are subject to taxation. The Returning Officer is entitled to pay for work in anticipation of a contest, and to request an advance on account from the Treasury. All accounts, declarations, and certificates must be submitted to the Treasury within eight weeks of nomination day. The form of accounts has already been given. Although there is no enactment on the point, payment to the Returning Officer would appear to be due within 14 days of the day of receipt of accounts by the Treasury.

Publication of Candidate's Accounts.

The Returning Officer, within ten days after he receives from the election agent of a candidate a return respecting election expenses, shall publish a summary of the return in not less than two newspapers circulating in the county or borough for which the election was held, accompanied by a notice of the time and place at which the return and declarations (including the accompanying documents) can be inspected. He is no longer entitled to make any charge in respect of such publication.

The summary of notice is as follows :—

> The following is a summary of the return respecting election expenses of , a candidate at the above election, which return was received by me on the , 19 .
>
> (*here insert the summary, and the signature of the agent as appearing on the return*)
>
> AND I GIVE NOTICE that any voter is permitted to inspect the said return and the accompanying declarations and documents, on payment of a fee of one shilling, at (insert the office or place at which the inspection may be had) any time during office hours within two years next after the said date of the receipt of the same by me.
>
> Dated this day of 19 .
>
> (Signed)
>
> Acting Returning Officer.

The Returning Officer is now compelled to supply on demand copies of the returns and declarations at the rate of 2d. per folio.

At the end of two years the returns and vouchers and declarations may be destroyed, or, upon request by a candidate or his agent, returned to the candidate.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

REGISTRATION AND THE REGISTRATION OFFICER.

IN the 1918 Act there has been a complete revision and re-casting of the work of registration. It is one of the greatest upheavals brought about by the new Act. Amongst other things it provides for two registers per year, except in the case of Northern Ireland, where there is only one, namely the autumn register.

The registration officer is now a responsible State official, and the overseers disappear as such, although the registration officer is empowered to make use of their services. The revising barrister has gone, and his work is carried to the County Court. The cost and expenses of registration are now provided half by the State and half by the Council, whose clerk the registration officer is (see page 297). The Treasury now regulates the scale of registration charges.

In this chapter is set out information for the guidance of the registration officer, and various notes on his duties. The chapter aims at being a clear, concise, and practical guide to the work. Where "definitions," "interpretations," and "Case Law" enter into the work of the registration officer, reference should be made to one of the well-known authorities on the subject.

A new duty is imposed upon registration officers by the Juries Act, 1922, which, for the purpose of economy, effects the amalgamation of the autumn register and the jury book.

The jury book, as such, therefore disappears, its place being taken by a copy of the autumn register of electors, which becomes the jurors' book for the year beginning on the 1st January next following, commencing in 1923.

Although the jury lists will cease to be prepared by the overseers, however, they will be required, on the request of the registration officer, to supply him with particulars of all qualified persons liable for jury service.

Those qualified and liable to serve as common jurors will be distinguished on the register of electors by the insertion, in heavy type, after and as part of their names, of the letter " **J** " printed in column 3, and those qualified and liable to serve as special jurors by the letters " **SJ**" in the same column.

In future, application for the removal of jury marks must be made to the registration officer before he revises the electors' lists.

The only alterations in the qualification for and liability to jury service made by the Juries Act, 1922, are as follows :

(*a*) A person will not be qualified as a juror unless his name is on the register of electors.

(*b*) Subsection (1) of Section 186 of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, by which, in a borough with a separate court of quarter sessions, or a borough civil court, all local government electors of the borough are liable to jury service in those courts, is repealed, and the qualification for and liability to jury service in those courts will be the same as in other courts.

(*c*) A woman being a vowed member of a religious order living in a convent or other religious community is exempt for jury service and will not be marked as a juror.

An exhaustive treatise on the qualifications for and liability to jury service, and disqualifications and exemption therefrom, will be found in Chapter 20 of "Knight's Overseers' Manual."

In the present chapter, the object has been to set out with the aid of certain quotations from the Act, the Local Government Board, Ministry of Health, Home Office, and Treasury circulars, what the registration officer must do, may do, and must not do. It is hoped that the chapter will also prove of considerable aid to the registration officers, deputies, and assistants, as each step and each section of the work of registration has been separately dealt with. The phrase "The Act" used throughout this chapter means the "Representation of the People Act, 1918," unless otherwise stated.

Parliamentary Franchise (Men).

A man shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a constituency (other than a university constituency) if he is a British subject of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, and has the requisite residence qualification; or has the requisite business premises qualification.

A man, in order to have the requisite residence qualification or business premises qualification for a constituency

> must on the last day of the qualifying period be residing in premises in the constituency, or occupying business premises in the constituency, as the case may be; and
> must during the whole of the qualifying period have resided in premises, or occupied business premises, as the case may be, in the constituency, or in another constituency within the same parliamentary borough or parliamentary county, or within a parliamentary borough or parliamentary county contiguous to that borough or county; or separated from that borough or county by water, not exceeded at the nearest point six miles in breadth, measured in the case of tidal water from low water mark.

Local Government Franchise (Men).

A man shall be entitled to be registered as a local government elector for a local government electoral area, if he is of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, and

> is on the last day of the qualifying period occupying, as owner or tenant, any land or premises in that area; and
> has, during the whole of the qualifying period, so occupied any land or premises in that area, or, if that area is not an administrative county or a county borough, in any administrative county or a county borough, in any administrative county or county borough in which the area is wholly or partly situate:

Provided that—

> for the purpose of this section a man who himself inhabits any dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment, shall, if the dwelling-house is not inhabited by the person in whose service he is in such office, service or employment, be deemed to occupy the dwelling-house as a tenant; and
> for the purpose of this section the word tenant shall include a person who occupies a room or rooms as a lodger only where such room or rooms are let to him in an unfurnished state.

There is legal obligation on the registration officer to register all electors who are duly qualified and not in any way disqualified or under a legal incapacity, such as peers, felons, aliens, infants (except naval and military voters 19 years of age), and women under 30 years of age, etc.

The registration officer is entitled to ask a person to produce before registration a certificate of birth, or statutory declaration as to age, and certificate of naturalisation or statutory declaration that the person is a British subject. For this purpose a birth certificate can be obtained at the reduced fee of 6d.

Full Age.

Full age is normally completed for registration purposes on the day preceding the 21st birthday, but for the Naval and Military Voter the age is 19, and a woman is entitled to her vote when she reaches 30 years of age.

A person's age shall be taken to be that person's age on the last day of the qualifying period. The end of the qualifying period is either the 15th June or the 15th December.

The registration officer must satisfy himself that a person was residing in premises or occupying business premises on the last day and that he came to reside in (not to occupy) such premises within 30 days before the last day. A person changing residence must come into residence within 30 days before the last day, and must remain in residence for 30 days after the time at which he first came there.

Under the Local Government franchise the registration officer has to satisfy himself that the man or woman or husband and wife was or were occupying premises on the last day, that occupation was commenced within the 30 days before the last day, and was continued for 30 days after commencing the residence.

The most important change in the Local Government vote is that the vote of the absentee owner is removed and the register confined to occupiers, whether owners or tenants. The old " lodger " vote is excluded, but the " latchkey " voter included.

The occupier must be owner or tenant, and consequently guests, licensees, and generally, servants, will not qualify. The old " service " vote is retained. Lodgers in unfurnished rooms are included. Servants, such as farm labourers, occupying cottages on the farm are entitled to vote. An occupying sub-tenant is a tenant for the purpose of registration. No valuation qualification is required except in the case of women in respect to the occupation of land or premises (not being a dwelling-house) of not less than £5 yearly value, nor is the rating or the payment of rates necessary to qualify. Lodger franchise conferred by the old Act upon men occupying furnished rooms disappears. If he inhabits unfurnished lodgings he is treated as a tenant, but if he occupies furnished lodgings he is not.

Women's Parliamentary (other than University) Franchise.

> A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a constituency (other than a University constituency) if she has attained the age of thirty years; and is not subject to any legal incapacity; and is entitled to be registered as a local government elector in respect of the occupation in that constituency of land or premises (not being a dwelling-house) of a yearly value of not less than five pounds, or of a dwelling-house, or is the wife of a husband entitled to be so registered.

Women's Local Government Franchise.

> A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a local government elector for any local government electoral area—
>
> where she would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man; and
>
> where she is the wife of a man who is entitled to be so registered in respect of premises in which they both reside, and she has attained the age of thirty years and is not subject to any legal incapacity.
>
> For the purpose of this provision, a naval or military voter who is registered in respect of a residence qualification which he would have had but for his service, shall be deemed to be resident in accordance with the qualification.

The parliamentary franchise for women (except in the case of a University constituency) is conferred either in respect of her own occupation as owner or tenant, or as the wife of a man entitled to be registered as a parliamentary voter. The parliamentary qualification (except in the case of a University constituency) is as a local government elector. A wife's vote does not depend upon her husband being registered, but upon him being "entitled to register" as a local government elector. The husband must also possess the £5 qualification to entitle his wife to be registered.

A woman cannot have a residence qualification as such to entitle her to registration as a parliamentary voter, but can have an occupation qualification. A married woman's parliamentary vote is dependent upon her husband's local government qualification. A married man moving from one contiguous county to another will not lose his parliamentary vote, but will lose his local government vote and his wife will lose her parliamentary vote. The £5 yearly qualification prevents excessive registration of women by reason of occupation of land.

The qualification for a woman's University vote is the possession, as if she were a man, of a degree (honorary excepted). Oxford and Cambridge do not confer degrees upon their women examinees, but in Section 4 (2) of the Act the words "has been admitted to and passed the final examination" entitle such women to registration. Women graduates at Edinburgh and St. Andrews are not entitled to register as parliamentary electors. The governing body of a University means the University Court.

A woman is entitled to a local government vote as if she were a man, occupying in her own right, as owner or tenant, any land or premises in the local government electoral area, or administrative county or county borough. Women are entitled to the service and unfurnished lodging vote. The service vote qualification is the habitation by a woman of any dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment. The unfurnished lodging qualification is the occupation by a woman of a room or rooms as a lodger where such rooms are let to her in an unfurnished state.

A woman qualified in her own right, whether married or single, obtains the local government vote on her attaining full age, but as a wife residing with her husband she does not get the local government vote until she reaches 30. Thus a single woman of, say, 25 years of age, who is qualified in her own right, may lose the local government vote on marriage until she qualifies again, through her husband, when she reaches the age of 30.

The Absent Voter.

> A person to whom this section applies (in this Act referred to as "a naval or military voter") shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for any constituency for which he would have had the necessary qualification but for the service which brings him within the provisions of this section.
>
> The right to be registered in pursuance of the foregoing provision shall be in addition to any other right to be registered, but a naval or military voter shall not be entitled to be registered for a constituency in respect of an actual residence qualification in the constituency except on making a claim for the purpose, accompanied by a declaration in the prescribed form, that he has taken reasonable steps to prevent his being registered under the foregoing provision for any other constituency.
>
> The statement of any person, made in the prescribed form and verified in the prescribed manner, that he would have had the necessary qualification in any constituency but for the service which brings him within the provisions of this section, shall for all purposes of this section be sufficient if there is no evidence to the contrary.
>
> This section applies to any person who is of the age required under the Act in the case of that person, and is not subject to any legal incapacity, and who—
>
> > is serving on full pay as a member of any of the naval, military or air forces of the Crown; or is abroad or afloat in connection with any war in which His Majesty is engaged, and is—
> >
> > > in service of a naval or military character for which payment is made out of moneys provided by Parliament, or (where the person serving was at the commencement of his service resident in the United Kingdom) out of the public funds of any part of His Majesty's Dominions, or in service as a merchant seaman, pilot, or fisherman, including the master of a merchant ship or fishing boat and an apprentice on such a ship or boat; or
> > >
> > > serving in any work of the British Red Cross Society, or the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, or any other body with a similar object; or
> > >
> > > serving in any other work recognised by the Admiralty, or Army Council, as work of national importance in connection with the war.

For the purpose of giving persons whose names are entered on the Absent Voters' List an opportunity of voting at a parliamentary election (other than a University election), the Returning Officer shall, where an election is contested, as soon as practicable after the adjournment of the election, *i.e.*, after nomination day, send a ballot paper to each such person at the address recorded by the registration officer, together with a declaration of identity in the prescribed form.

The ballot paper marked by the absent voter, and accompanied by the declaration of identity duly signed and authenticated shall, if it is received by the Returning Officer before the close of the poll, be counted by him and treated for all purposes in the same manner as a ballot paper placed in the ballot box in the ordinary manner.

Voting by Proxy.

The following special provision shall apply for the purpose of enabling persons whose names are entered on the Absent Voters' List to appoint voting proxies in certain cases—

> His Majesty may by Order in Council direct that voting by proxy by naval or military voters shall be permitted in any area on land abroad mentioned in the Order if it appears to him that ballot papers sent to that area by post cannot reasonably be returned before the votes are counted.
>
> A person whose name is entered on the Absent Voters' List, if he satisfies the registration officer—
>
> > that he is a naval or military voter and is serving, or about to serve, afloat or in any area on land abroad in which voting by proxy is permitted ; or
> >
> > that he is a merchant seaman, pilot, or fisherman (including the master of a merchant ship or fishing boat and an apprentice on such a ship or boat), and that there is a likelihood that he will be at the time of a parliamentary election at sea or about to go to sea ;
> >
> > shall be entitled, if he so desires, to appoint a proxy, and, having appointed a proxy, to vote by proxy at a parliamentary election in accordance with and subject to the provisions of the Act ;

> No ballot paper shall be sent for the purpose of voting by post to a person who has appointed a proxy under this provision while the appointment is in force, or to any naval or military voter if the Returning Officer knows that he is serving in an area in which voting by proxy is permitted in pursuance of an Order in Council:
>
> The provision set out in the Third Schedule to the Act shall have effect with respect to voting by proxy.

A person whose name is entered on the Absent Voters' List shall not be entitled to vote except as an absent voter in pursuance of this section. For method of securing transfer to the ordinary register see page 85.

His Majesty may by Order in Council prescribe the forms to be used for the purpose of this section, and make regulations as to the mode in which proxy papers may be issued and cancelled, and in which ballot papers are to be sent to the voter for the purpose of voting by post and as to the authentication of any marked ballot papers, and generally for the purpose of carrying this section into effect and for preserving the secrecy of voting in pursuance thereof.

The object of Section 5 of the Act is to allow soldiers, sailors, airmen, merchant seamen, pilots, fishermen, etc., who are away, abroad or afloat, to qualify for the constituency in which their home or business is situate.

Qualifying Ages.

The qualifying age for a naval or military voter who served in the great war was 19, but this ceased to have effect as and from 31st August, 1921, except in the cases of those men who served in or in connection with the war and had attained the age of 19 years whilst serving. As regards other men, the age is 21. As regards women, the age is 30 for the parliamentary vote, and if she is qualified in her own right by occupation, she obtains the local government vote at full age.

A conscientious objector is entitled to a vote if he has performed service certified by a Government Department as work of national importance. (See page 293).

Qualifying Periods. (Absent Voters.)

The qualifying periods for absent voters which apply to both local government and parliamentary franchises are :—

MILITARY AGE.

A male naval or military voter who has served or hereafter serves in or in connection with "the present war" shall, notwithstanding anything in this or any other Act, be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector if that voter at the commencement of service had attained, or during the service attains, the age of nineteen years, and is otherwise qualified. (See "Qualifying Ages" on page 288).

The qualifying period shall be a period of six months ending either on the fifteenth day of January or the fifteenth day of July, including in each case the fifteenth day:

Provided that in the application of this section to a person who is a naval or military voter, or who has been serving as a member of the naval, military, or air forces of the Crown at any time during the said six months and has ceased so to serve, one month shall be substituted for six months as the qualifying period.

Residence and Occupation ; Joint Letting ; The "Thirty Days."

Supplemental provisions as to residence and occupation.

JOINT OCCUPATION.

Where land or premises are in the joint occupation of two or more persons, each of the joint occupiers shall, for the purposes of Section 7 of the Act, be treated as occupying the premises, subject as follows :—

In the case of the occupation of business premises the aggregate yearly value of the premises must for the purpose of the parliamentary franchise be not less than the amount produced by multiplying ten pounds by the number of the joint occupiers ; and

In the case of the occupation of land or premises (not being a dwelling-house) the aggregate yearly value thereof must for the purpose of the parliamentary franchise of women be not less than the amount produced by multiplying five pounds by the number of joint occupiers ; and

Not more than two joint occupiers shall be entitled to be registered in respect of the same land or premises, unless they are bona fide engaged as partners carrying on their profession, trade, or business on the land or premises.

Letting of House Furnished.

Residence in a house or the occupation of a house shall not be deemed to be interrupted for the purpose of the Act by reason only of permission being given, by letting or otherwise, for the occupation of the house as a furnished house by some other person for part of the qualifying period not exceeding four months in the whole, or by reason only of notice to quit being served and possession being demanded by the landlord of the house; but the express enactment of this provision shall not affect in any way the general principles governing the interpretation of the expression "residence" and cognate expressions.

The Thirty Days' Qualification.

Notwithstanding anything in the Act, a man shall not be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a constituency in respect of a residence qualification though he may have been residing in premises in the constituency on the last day of the qualifying period, if he commenced to reside in the constituency within thirty days before the end of the qualifying period and ceased to reside within thirty days after the time he so commenced to reside.

Notwithstanding anything in the Act, a person shall not be entitled to be registered as a local government elector for a local government electoral area though that person may have been occupying land or premises in the area on the last day of the qualifying period, if that person commenced to occupy the land or premises within thirty days before the end of the qualifying period, and ceased to occupy the land or premises within thirty days after the commencement of the occupation.

Right of Person Registered to Vote as a Parliamentary Elector.

Every person registered as a parliamentary elector for any constituency shall, while so registered (and, in the case of a woman, notwithstanding sex or marriage) be entitled to vote at an election of a member to serve in Parliament for that constituency; but a man shall not vote at a general election for more than one constituency for which he is registered by virtue of a residence qualification, or for more than one constituency for which he is registered by virtue of other qualifications of whatever kind, and a woman shall not vote at a general election for more than one constituency for which she is registered by virtue of her own or her husband's local government qualification, or for more than one constituency for which she is registered by virtue of any other qualification.

It is the duty of the registration officer to obtain as far as possible the names and addresses of all persons of full age, who ordinarily reside in his area but who are serving in His Majesty's forces. Such persons are qualified to be registered as parliamentary voters within that area. The qualification in such cases is defined in the section of the Act as follows .—

> An absent voter must be put on the Absent Voters' List by the registration officer without claim. A house to house or other sufficient enquiry is required. He can obtain information from householders, etc.

"Yearly value" under Section 7 means (1) the gross estimated rental for England and Wales, or gross value (London); (2) value in the valuation roll for Scotland; (3) rateable value in Scotland, where separately assessed or valued, or otherwise according to the opinion of the registration officer if the premises were so assessed or valued.

The registration of the two joint occupation voters for local government electoral purposes is similar to that for parliamentary electoral purposes. No person must be registered as a parliamentary elector in respect of more than one qualification in the same constituency, or as a local government elector in respect of more than one qualification in the same borough for the purpose of borough council elections; in the same electoral division or ward for the purpose of county council, metropolitan borough council, urban district council elections; in the same parish or ward of a parish for the purpose of rural district council, guardians or parish council elections.

In the case of more than one qualification the elector may choose which qualification he or she prefers to be registered for. No person can be registered for residence and business occupier qualifications in the same constituency. A person is entitled to be registered and vote notwithstanding that during a part of the qualifying period, not exceeding four months, he shall have let to another person for occupation the qualifying premises as a furnished house. The "four months" may be split up and aggregated for the purpose of this section of the Act and the letting need not be consecutive.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTORS.

> A person registered as a local government elector for any local government electoral area shall while so registered (and, in the case of a woman, notwithstanding sex or marriage) be entitled to vote at a local government election for that area; but where, for the purposes of election, any such area is divided into more than one ward or electoral division, by whatever name called, a person shall not be entitled to vote for more than one such ward or electoral division.
>
> Notwithstanding anything in this provision a person may be registered for more than one such ward or division of a local government electoral area (not being a municipal borough), and may vote in any such ward or division for which he is registered at an election to fill a casual vacancy.

THE ABSENT VOTER.

> A naval or military voter who is registered in respect of a qualification which he would have had but for his service shall be deemed for the purpose of this section to be registered by virtue of that qualification.

The effect of Section 8 of the Act is to make it impossible for any person to vote at a general election more than once in one constituency and to exercise only one other vote in another constituency in respect of occupation of business premises or as a University voter.

If a registration officer fails to compile a fresh register on the expiration of the old one, the register in force at the time when the fresh register should have come into force shall continue to operate, and therefore all those persons whose names appear on that register shall have the power to vote in the event of an election.

While a person is registered he or she is entitled to vote. At a local government election a registered voter can only vote once, but at a *casual* election for a county, district, parish, metro-borough council, or board of guardians, a voter can vote for any ward or division in which he is registered, except in the case of an incorporated municipal borough where a local government elector cannot be enrolled in more wards than one.

Disqualifications.

The disqualifications have been reduced, and the poor relief disqualification has been removed altogether.

POOR RELIEF.

A person shall not be disqualified from being registered, or from voting as a parliamentary or local government elector, by reason that he or some person for whose maintenance he is responsible has received poor relief or other alms.

THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR.

Any person being a conscientious objector to whom subsection 9 (1) of the Act applies, shall be disqualified during the continuance of the war and a period of five years thereafter from being registered or voting as a parliamentary or local government elector, unless, before the expiration of one year after the termination of the war, he proves to the central tribunal as established for the purpose of the Military Service Act, 1916—

that he has during the continuance of the war taken up and so far as reasonably practicable, continued service which constitutes a person (other than a person serving on full pay as a member of any of the naval, military, or air forces of the Crown), a naval or military voter for the purposes of the Act; or

that having been exempted from military service on condition of doing work of national importance he has done such work in accordance with the decision and to the satisfaction of the appropriate tribunal or authority; or

that having obtained an absolute exemption from military service without any such condition, he has neverthelesss (whether before or after the passing of the Act) been engaged in and so far as reasonably practicable, continued some work of national importance; and obtains a certificate from the central tribunal to that effect.

This subsection of the Act shall apply to a conscientious objector who either—

has been exempted from all military service (including non-combatant service) on the ground of conscientious objection ; or

having been convicted by court martial of an offence against military law, and having represented that the offence was the result of conscientious objection to military service, has been awarded imprisonment.

If a person disqualified under the sub-section would have been entitled to be registered as a parliamentary or local government elector but for that disqualification, it shall not extend so as to affect the right of the wife of that person to be registered or vote as a parliamentary or local government elector, as the case may be.

Legal Incapacity.

A person shall not be entitled to be registered or to vote as a parliamentary or local government elector if he is not a British subject, and nothing contained in the Act shall, except as expressly provided therein, confer on any person, who is subject to any legal incapacity to be registered or to vote either as a parliamentary or local government elector, any right to be so registered or to vote.

British Subjects.

The following rank as British subjects :—

Persons born in British dominions, although they be children of foreign parents.

Children born out of the dominion of the Crown but whose father or paternal grandfather was born within British dominions.

Persons to whom letters of denization have been granted.

Persons who have become naturalised under the Naturalisation Act, 1870. It is necessary that the person applying under the Act should have resided in the United Kingdom or have been in the service of the Crown for not less than five years. The Secretary of State is entitled to refuse the application without giving his reasons.

The wife of a British subject who prior to her marriage was an alien.

The children of a father, or a mother being a widow, who has obtained a certificate of naturalisation when such children have during their infancy become resident with such father or mother.

British nationality is lost if such person—

Becomes naturalised in another country.

If a woman marries an alien husband.

Having at time of birth come under the law of any foreign state makes a declaration of alienage.

Employment at Elections.

A person is not to be disqualified from voting at an election as a parliamentary or local government elector by reason of the fact that he is employed for payment by, or on behalf of, a candidate or Returning Officer at such election, so long as the employment is legal.

Peers and Peeresses.

No Peer of the realm may vote at a parliamentary election, except an Irish peer who has been actually elected as a Member of the House of Commons and has lost his right as a representative peer of Ireland. A peer if registered can vote at a local government election. Peeresses in their own right, however, if registered, may vote in any election.

Any incapacity of a peer to vote at an election, arising from the status of a peer, shall not extend to peeresses in their own right.

Disqualifications.

The pauper disqualification has been swept away for all franchise purposes. An inmate or patient in any prison, lunatic asylum, workhouse, poorhouse, etc., shall not by reason thereof be treated as resident therein, *i.e.*, disqualified. Resident officials, not being inmates or patients, would not be disqualified.

An alien, not being a denizen or naturalised, cannot vote. An idiot should not be allowed to vote, nor should he be registered. A lunatic, if he be registered, may vote if at the moment of voting he can answer, to the satisfaction of the presiding officer, the statutory questions which he is entitled to put. Childish, infirm, deaf, dumb, or blind persons are not disqualified as such. Persons convicted of treason or felony and undergoing imprisonment cannot vote at any election. Persons on ticket-of-leave are disqualified until the expiration of the term of imprisonment. Expiration of sentence or granting of a free pardon removes the disqualification.

A person found guilty of corrupt or illegal practice is disqualified from being registered and from voting for seven years, dating from conviction in the case of illegal practice. It is the duty of the registration officer to publish, with the election list, a list of those persons who have been found guilty of the above offences.

Bankruptcy does not destroy a qualification except in some cases of occupation qualification. The continuance in occupation as a tenant after bankruptcy would constitute a residential qualification.

The Returning Officer, even if registered, may not vote in the first instance. The subject is fully dealt with in the chapter on "The Returning Officer and his Staff" (see page 200). A candidate, if registered can vote, and for himself if he so desires.

Plural Voting and Penalties.

Plural voting is virtually abolished and penalties are imposed for voting at a general election in more constituencies than allowed.

If any person at a general election votes for more constituencies than he or she is entitled to vote for in accordance with the Act, or asks for a ballot or voting paper for the purpose of so voting, he or she shall be guilty of an illegal practice within the meaning of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883; and the expression "illegal practice" shall be construed accordingly. Provided that:—

> the court before whom a person is convicted under this section may, if they think it just in the special circumstances of the case, mitigate or entirely remit any incapacity imposed

> by Section 10 of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883; and
>
> the fact that any person has asked for a ballot paper in a constituency in circumstances which entitle him only to mark a tendered ballot paper in pursuance of Rule 27 of the First Part of the First Schedule to the Ballot Act, 1872, shall not, if he does not exercise that right, prevent his voting or asking for a ballot or voting paper in another constituency; and
>
> the giving of a vote by a Returning Officer in pursuance of Section 2 of the Ballot Act, 1872, in the case of an equality of votes or the asking for a ballot paper for the purpose of so voting shall not, for the purposes of this section, be deemed to be the giving of a vote as a parliamentary elector, or the asking for a ballot paper for the purpose of so voting.

The questions set out in Part II. of the Second Schedule to the Act may be asked of any voter at a poll at a general election, in addition to those authorised already to be asked; and unless there is an answer given in the negative, that person (except as provided in that schedule) shall not vote.

Provision as to Qualification of Councillors.

A person shall, in addition to and without prejudice to any other qualification, be qualified to be elected a member of the local government authority for any local government electoral area if he is the owner of property held by freehold, copyhold, leasehold or any other tenure within the area of that authority.

There is no mention of a value qualification under this section. An owner in a local government electoral area can now become a candidate for and a member of a local government authority by reason of his or her ownership qualification.

Registration and the Registration Officer.

The registration officer is appointed under the Act in respect of each registration area, parliamentary borough, or parliamentary county. The Clerk to the County Council acts in the case of a county, and the

Town Clerk in the case of a municipal borough; as regards London, the Clerk of a Metropolitan Borough Council and the Secondary of the City of London are the registration officers. The registration officer usually discharges the duties of Acting Returning Officer at an election. The Act provides for appointment of deputies subject to approval of the Home Office. The whole work of registration has been re-cast under the Act, the work has been taken away from the overseers, the registration officer is an officer of the State, and the revising barrister has disappeared. Appeals go to the County Court. The registers are compiled twice annually (except in Northern Ireland where there is one register annually), and are divided into four sections.—

1. Parliamentary and local government voters.
2. Parliamentary voters only.
3. Local government voters only, and
4. Absent voters.

The registration areas are defined as follows .—

1. Administrative county.
2. Municipal borough.
3. Certain urban districts.
4. Metropolitan boroughs.
5. City of London.
6. Scotland. The burgh or county.
7. Northern Ireland. The administrative county or riding.
8. Isles of Scilly as if the isles were an administrative council, etc.
9. Administrative County of London.

THE REGISTRATION OFFICER.

The duties of the registration officer are to compile the spring and autumn register, and to place, or cause to be placed, on the register, in accordance with the rules set out in the First Schedule to the Act, the names of those entitled to vote as parliamentary electors or local government electors in his registration area, and to comply with any general or special directions which may be given by the Home Office with respect to the arrangements to be made by the registration officer for carrying out his duties as to registration.

If a registration officer refuses, neglects, or fails without reasonable cause, to perform any of his duties in connection with registration, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds.

His Majesty may by Order in Council prescribe the forms to be used for registration purposes and any fees to be taken in connection therewith, and alter the rules contained in the First Schedule to the Act for the purpose of carrying the Act into full effect, or for carrying into effect any Act for the time being in force amending or affecting the Act.

The rules contained in the First Schedule to the Act and any Order so made shall have effect as if enacted in the Act.

Registers and Registration.

There are now two registers for England, Wales, and Scotland in every year—spring and autumn.

Two registers of electors shall be prepared in every year, of which one (in the Act referred to as the spring register) shall be made for the qualifying period ending on the fifteenth day of December, and the other (in the Act referred to as the autumn register) shall be made for the qualifying period ending on the fifteenth day of June.

The spring register shall come into force on the commencement of the fifteenth day of April and remain in force until the fifteenth day of October, and the autumn register shall come into force on the commencement of the fifteenth day of October and remain in force until the fifteenth day of April.

If for any reason the registration officer fails to compile a fresh spring or autumn register for his area or any part of his area, the register in force at the time when the fresh register should have come into force shall continue to operate as the register for the area or part of an area in respect of which default has been made.

Each parliamentary borough and each parliamentary county shall be a registration area, and there shall be a registration officer for each registration area.

Where the registration area is a parliamentary county and is coterminous with, or wholly contained in, one administrative county, the clerk of the county council, and where the registration area is a parliamentary borough and is coterminous with, or wholly contained in, one municipal borough, the town clerk of the borough, shall be the registration officer for the area.

In any other case such clerk of the county council, or town clerk shall be registration officer for the area as the Home Office may by order direct, subject to any conditions which may be made by the order as to the appointment of deputies for any part of the area.

Any of the duties and powers of the registration officer may be performed and exercised by any deputy for the time being approved by the Home Office, and the provision of this Act shall apply to any such deputy so far as respects any duties or powers to be performed or exercised by him as it applies to the registration officer.

In the event of any vacancy in the office of any clerk of the county council or town clerk who is a registration officer, or in the event of his incapacity to act, any acts authorised or required to be done by or with respect to the registration officer may be done by or with respect to any person temporarily appointed in that behalf by the chairman of the county council or the mayor, as the case may be.

The foregoing provisions of this part of the Act shall not apply to University constituencies, but the Governing Body of every University forming, or forming part of, a University constituency shall cause a register to be kept in such form and made up, if desired, to such dates as they may direct, of persons entitled to vote in respect of a qualification at their University, and shall make the register available for the purpose of University elections for the constituency, and shall on the application of any person allow that person at all reasonable times to inspect and take extracts from the said register:

Provided that the governing body may direct that a person who before passing the Act has received a degree, but was not entitled to vote in respect thereof, shall have no right to be registered unless he makes a claim for the purpose.

The governing body of any such University may charge such fee as they think fit, not exceeding one pound, in respect of registration to any person who receives a degree at their University after the passing of the Act, or who has received a degree before the passing of the Act, but was not entitled to vote in respect thereof.

At a contested election for a University constituency, where there are two or more members to be elected, any election of the full number of members shall be according to the principle of proportional representation, each elector having one transferable vote as defined by the Act.

His Majesty may appoint Commissioners to prepare as soon as may be after the passing of the Act a scheme under which as nearly as possible one hundred members shall be elected to the House of Commons at a general election on the principle of proportional representation for constituencies in Great Britain returning three or more members.

The number of members of the House of Commons as fixed under the Act shall not be increased by any such scheme. For the purpose of such scheme the Commissioners shall (after holding such local inquiries as they may deem necessary) combine into single constituencies, returning not

> less than three or more than seven members, such of the areas fixed as constituencies in the Ninth Schedule to the Act as they may select, but in selecting those areas they shall have regard to the advisability of applying the principle of proportional representation both to town and country.
>
> The scheme so prepared by the Commissioners shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and if both Houses by resolution adopt the scheme, the scheme shall, with any modifications or additions which may be agreed to by both Houses, take effect as if it were enacted in the Act, and the constituencies fixed under the scheme shall be substituted so far as necessary, for the constituencies fixed under the Ninth Schedule to the Act.
>
> In any such constituency any contested election of the full number of members shall be according to the principle of proportional representation, each elector having one transferable vote as defined by the Act.
>
> His Majesty may by Order in Council make any adaption of the provisions of the Act as to the machinery of registration or election which may appear to him to be necessary in consequence of the adoption of the scheme.
>
> His Majesty may by Order in Council frame regulations prescribing the method of voting, and transferring and counting votes, at any election, according to principle of the transferable vote, and for adapting the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872, and any other Act relating to parliamentary elections thereto, and with respect to the duties of returning officers in connection therewith; and any such regulation shall have effect as if they were enacted in the Act.
>
> Nothing contained in this Act shall, except as expressly provided therein, affect the method of conducting parliamentary elections in force at the time of the passing of the Act.

The old Register continues in use until the new one is made.

Making Up the Register.

The register for each registration unit in a registration area is to be made up of, as follows :—

Parliamentary and Local Government electors.
Parliamentary electors only.
Local Government electors only.

There is a provision for marking the local government elector who is not entitled to vote for all the local government electoral areas within the registration unit, and, in the case of the autumn register, for the marking of those electors qualified and liable for jury service.

There is a provision for the separate compilation of a list of persons entitled to vote as absent voters, and for marking those absent voters who have given a proxy.

The registers are to be made up as follows :—

The register shall be framed in separate parts for each registration unit in the registration area.

The registration unit shall be the parish, where the parish is wholly contained in one voting area; and where a parish is contained in more than one voting area, shall be each part of the parish contained in a separate voting area. For the purposes of this rule the expression "voting area" means any polling district, electoral division, borough, county district other than a borough, and any ward of a borough, county district, or parish, and any other area for which a separate election, at which the register is to be used, is held.

In Northern Ireland there will be only one register annually, viz., the autumn register.

The registers compiled in their present form take the place of any other register, roll, or by whatever name they were called.

Division of Registers.

The register shall, as respects each registration unit, contain the names of those who are entitled to vote as local government electors, but shall be framed so as to show the names of those who are entitled to vote both as parliamentary and local government electors, the names of those who are entitled to vote as parliamentary electors but not as local government electors, the names of those who are entitled to vote as local government electors but not as parliamentary electors, and, in the case of the autumn register, the names of those liable and qualified for jury service.

Where a person whose name is entered as a local government elector in any registration unit is not entitled to vote in respect of that entry at the local government elections for all the local government electoral areas that comprise that unit, the registration officer shall place a mark against his name, with a note to signify that the person against whose name the mark is placed is not entitled to vote for the local government elections mentioned in the note, and any such note shall be deemed to be part of the register.

The Absent Voters' List will be supplementary to the above.

The registration officer shall prepare, and add as a supplement to the register, a separate list for the whole registration area, or, where the area includes more than one constituency, for each constituency in the area, of persons entitled to vote as absent voters (in the Act referred to as the Absent Voters' List) without, however, removing the names of those voters from any other part of the register. Every such list shall be made up according to polling districts.

Provision is made for marking with "a" the names of absent voters in the main register to prevent personation.

How Registers are Made Up.

In the case of a registration unit which is situated in a parliamentary borough, the names of voters on the register shall be in strict order unless it is decided that the general character of the district renders it impossible to conform to this method. In the case of a parliamentary county registration unit, the names on the register shall be arranged in alphabetical order, unless it is decided that arrangement in strict order is practicable and convenient. In urban districts street order will be found to be more convenient. It facilitates ready reference and identification in each voting area, particularly at the polling station. In rural districts and the smaller urban parishes, however, it will generally be found that alphabetical order is preferable.

The registers for the registration units making up any constituency, so far as they relate to parliamentary electors, shall together form the register of parliamentary electors for that constituency, and the registers of the registration units making up any local government electoral area, so far as they relate to local government electors, shall together form the register of local government electors for that area.

Preparation of Electors' Lists.

It shall be the duty of the registration officer to cause a house-to-house or other sufficient inquiry to be made, and to prepare or cause to be prepared lists for each registration unit within his registration area of all persons appearing to be entitled to be registered as parliamentary or local government electors in the spring and autumn register respectively, and to publish those lists in the form in which the register is to be framed on the appointed dates. The form of electors' list consists of a copy of the previous electors' register (List A) a list of new qualified electors (List B) and a list of persons no longer qualified (List C). List C consists only of the name and polling district number of the persons concerned and thus permit of the list being printed in double columns. Another method of publishing List C is to strike through the entry in the copy of the register published as List A.

The registration officer shall at the same time publish a notice specifying the mode in which, and the time within which, claims and objections are to be made under these rules.

The actual work of compiling the registers will be performed by overseers and others, who will also supply to the registration officer the names of all registered electors qualified and liable for jury service. Where the registration officer does not himself perform the duties of overseer he may require the overseer of any parish in his unit to prepare the lists and publish them on his behalf. The reasonable remuneration of overseers is part of the registration officers' expenses.

The registration officer is bound to place on the Absent Voters' List any naval or military voter, without any claim being made unless :—

> That person, not later than the twenty-fourth day of February as respects the spring register, and the twenty-fourth day of August as respects the autumn register, gives notice to the registration officer that he does not desire to be placed upon that list ; or that person is registered in pursuance of a claim for the purpose, for the constituency in which he has an actual residence qualification.

The Admiralty, the Army Council, and the Air Council, either directly or through officers appointed by them, shall in the prescribed manner furnish to the registration officers in the several constituencies such information as to the names and addresses of naval and military voters and such other particulars as may be necessary for the purpose of their registration and of their voting as absent voters.

The registration officer shall make all the necessary corrections of the lists (including the Absent Voters' List) and do everything necessary to form those lists into a register, with a separate letter and a separate series of numbers for each polling district, in time to allow the publication of the lists so corrected as a register.

Publication of Register.

It shall be the duty of the registration officer to publish the spring register not later than the fifteenth day of

April, and the autumn register not later than the fifteenth day of October in each year, by publishing a notice that a copy of the register is open to inspection at his office, and that copies of the part of the register relating to any registration unit are open to inspection during business hours in the registration unit at the place mentioned in the notice.

It shall be the duty of the registration officer to keep copies of the register for inspection at his office, and also to arrange for copies of the part of the register relating to any registration unit being kept for inspection in that unit either at the principal post office (if the Postmaster-General gives authority for the purpose) or at some other convenient place, to which the public have access, to be arranged by him.

It shall be the duty of the registration officer to transmit a copy of the register, as soon as may be after it is published to the Home Office.

It is the duty of the registration officer to publish any document required to be published.

Form of Register.

The form of register in three divisions (excluding Absent Voters' List) must contain :—

The names of those persons who are entitled to vote both as parliamentary electors and as local government electors.

The names of those persons who are entitled to vote as parliamentary electors only.

The names of those persons who are entitled to vote as local government electors only.

The following marks will be placed against the names of certain electors in column 3 :—

† Persons against whose names the mark † is placed are not entitled to vote in respect of that entry at elections of County Councillors.

‡ Persons against whose names the mark ‡ is placed are not entitled to vote in respect of that entry at elections of Rural District Councillors or Guardians.

§ Persons against whose names the mark § is placed are not entitled to vote in respect of that entry in the case of a Borough Metropolitan Borough or Urban District at elections for Borough or District Councillors, as the case may be, and in the case of a parish at elections for Parish Councillors or at parish meetings.

* Persons against whose names the mark * is placed will vote at another polling place at parliamentary elections.

a Persons against whose names the letter "*a*" is placed are absent voters.

J Persons against whose names the letter "J" in heavy type is placed as qualified and liable for service as common jurors.

SJ Persons against whose names the letters "SJ" in heavy type are placed are qualified and liable for service as special jurors.

In the fourth column the following abbreviations are to used:—

R—Residence qualification.
BP—Business premises qualification.
O—Occupation qualification.
HO—Qualification through husband's occupation.
NM—Naval or military voter.

Registration officers and other officials employed in the compilation of the electors' lists will, in the course of their canvass, obtain a large amount of information with regard to absent voters, in addition to information from Record Offices of the Services.

The naval and military voters are, by Rule 17 of the First Schedule to the Act, to be placed automatically on the Absent Voters' List, unless they notify a desire to the contrary, or they are registered in respect of actual residence. Except in the latter cases, the names of naval or military voters will be marked in the register with the letter "a," and will also be included in the separate list of absent voters for the polling district.

It is open to the registration officers to inquire of the naval and military authorities in regard to men of whose registration they are in doubt, but it must be realised that so far as particulars connected with registration are concerned, those authorities have no information beyond the records, and the particulars of his next of kin, whose address may or may not be that in respect of which he is entitled to be registered. It will thus be of no service, generally speaking, to correspond with these authorities on other points, and those engaged in the registration will have to depend upon such information as can be collected in the locality. It will be remembered that, as noted above, the statement of the naval or military voter as to his qualification is, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to be sufficient for the purpose of registration.

The officer compiling the electors' list must bear in mind that each parish will be a registration unit unless the parish is contained in more than one voting area, that is, any polling district, electoral division, borough and urban district, and any ward of a borough, urban district, or parish, or any other area for which a separate election is held at which the register is to be used. In such a case, each part of the parish for which a separate part of the register is required for the purpose of forming the register for each voting area will be a registration unit, and separate lists must be made out for each registration unit.

The names in the lists will be entered in alphabetical order if the registration unit is situated in a parliamentary county, and in street order if the unit is situated in a parliamentary borough and the officer will, therefore, make out the lists accordingly unless directions are received to the contrary.

The officer will be supplied with sheets corresponding to the form prescribed for the register, and he will enter therein the names of and other particulars required relative to the electors. As a heading to each sheet he will indicate by name and code letter the polling district which forms the registration unit, or in which the registration unit is comprised, and give the name of the parish, or if the parish is not the registration unit the description of the unit.

The Absent Voters' List.

Section 5 of the Act confers an entirely new electoral qualification for persons described therein as "naval or military voters." These comprise the following classes :—

Persons serving at home or abroad on full pay as members of any of the naval, military or air forces of the Crown.

The following persons serving abroad or afloat in connection with the war :—

> Persons in service of a naval or military character for which payment is made out of moneys provided by Parliament or (where they were at the commencement of their service resident in the United Kingdom) out of the public funds of any of the Dominions.
>
> Persons in service as merchant seamen, pilots, or fishermen, including masters and apprentices.
>
> Persons serving in any work of the British Red Cross Society or the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England or any other body with a similar object.
>
> Persons serving in any other work recognized by the Admiralty, Army Council, or Air Council as work of national importance in connection with the war.

Males in each of the foregoing classes are entitled to be registered if they have attained 19 years of age, and females if they have attained 30 years of age, on the last day of the qualifying period.

These naval or military voters are entitled to be registered as parliamentary voters for any constituency for which they would have had the necessary qualification but for the service which, under the Act, entitled them to be registered as naval or military voters.

Section 5 of the Act provides that the statement of any person made in the prescribed form, and verified in the prescribed manner, that he or she would have had the necessary qualification in any constituency but for the service which brings him within the provisions of this section shall for all purposes of this section be sufficient if there is no evidence to the contrary.

Compilation of Lists.

The rate book is of great assistance in obtaining information for compiling the lists, although a house-to-house enquiry is necessary in practically all cases.

For the purpose of eliciting the necessary information, each householder or occupier should be supplied with Form A. In many areas Form A is not now used and the personal canvass is relied upon. Where there may be more than one person in occupation of premises, *e.g.*, a house occupied partly as a dwelling house and partly as business premises, or a house comprising flats, or partly let out as unfurnished rooms, this form should be left with each occupier. In some cases, such as a building containing a number of separate dwellings, or suites of offices, it may be necessary to obtain information from the owner or his agent as to the several occupiers, and for this purpose a special Form B should be used, so that when information as to these occupiers has been obtained Form A may be left with each of them. This use of Form A will provide a convenient means of ascertaining the persons resident in or occupying premises who may be entitled to registration either as parliamentary or as local government electors.

Before the form is left, it is necessary to insert in the appropriate space the address to which, if sent by post, it is to be returned. A rubber stamp can be conveniently used for this purpose. If there is a large number of forms it will be cheaper to get a local printer to print in the address. The spaces showing the date of delivery of the form, and the number of days within which, if not called for, it is to be returned by post, must also be filled in. The form should usually be called for, as it will then be seen whether it has been filled in properly.

In some instances it may be found necessary at a later period to make a formal service of Form A on the householder or occupier. The officer should communicate with the registration officer before making any such formal service, explaining the circumstances in which it is needed.

As soon as Form A has been returned, and it has been verified as far as may be necessary by the rate book or otherwise, the officer will be in a position to proceed with the making up of the lists in the manner required for the purpose of forming the register.

Entries on Lists.

In Column 1 (Register No. Column), the officer will not make any entries, nor should any mark be placed against the name of any person unless he receives special directions. In Column 2 the officer will enter the surname and other name or names of each person in full, the surname being placed first. If the names in the list are to be arranged in street order the names of persons residing or occupying property at the same address as shown in Column 3 must be placed in strict alphabetical order. In Column 3 the officer will enter the address or description of the premises in which the person resided, or of the property occupied by him on the last day of the qualifying period, and add, in heavy type, the letters "**J**" or "**SJ**" to indicate qualification and liability for common or special jury service.

If the person does not reside on the premises, the officer should also enter in this column his or her actual abode, or, if he or she has no settled residence, the address to which postal communications will be sent, thus (abode—**34**, Duke Street, Exeter). In the case of a naval or military voter, however, no such address should be entered.

Where the names are arranged in alphabetical order, the name of the parish should not be inserted as part of the address of the qualifying premises. Where the names are arranged in street order, the name of the street in which is situate the qualifying premises should be inserted as a cross heading, and the name or number of the premises only should be inserted, opposite the entry.

The name of a naval or military voter who is still in occupation of business premises, or of premises in which he would be residing but for his service, should ordinarily be entered in Division I, as he will be a local government voter as well as a parliamentary voter. Otherwise naval or military voters should be entered in Division II only.

Qualification Entries.

In Column 4 the registration officer will make the necessary entries, showing the nature of the qualification in respect of which persons are entitled to be registered. The various qualifications will be indicated by distinguishing letters as follows :—

R—Residence qualification.
BP—Business premises qualification.
O—Occupation qualification.
HO—Qualification by virtue of a husband's occupation qualification.
NM—Naval or military voter.

Column 4 is to be divided into two parts as follows:—

In the case of a man residing in and occupying the qualifying premises, whether business premises or not, the entries will be R in the first sub-division of Column 4 and O in the second.

In the case of a man who is qualified as the occupier of business premises and is not resident in the qualifying premises, the entries will be BP in the first sub-division of Column 4 and O in the second.

In the case of a naval or military voter who is also in occupation of premises, the entries will be NM in the first sub-division of Column 4 and O in the second.

In the case of a woman who is resident with her husband in premises occupied by him or who is the wife of a naval or military voter and would have so resided with her husband but for his service, the entry in each sub-division of Column 4 will be HO.

In the case of a woman who is herself the occupier of a dwelling house, or of other property of a yearly value of not less than £5, the entry will be O in each sub-division of Column 4. Where a person resides in a dwelling-house which he occupies by virtue of service, or in lodgings let unfurnished, the entries, will be, in the case of a man R and O, and in the case of a woman O and O.

For persons entitled to vote as parliamentary electors only single entries only will be required.

In the case of a man residing in premises the entry will be R. In the case of a naval or military voter the entry will be NM. In the case of a woman who is the wife of a man occupying land or premises (not being a dwelling-house) of the yearly value of not less than £5, the entry will be HO.

The entry in Column 4 for those entitled to vote as local government electors only will ordinarily be O.

The Absent Voters' List.

In the course of inquiries on the compilation of the general list the officer will obtain information as to the persons who appear to be entitled to be registered as naval and military voters.

These naval or military voters are entitled to be registered as parliamentary voters for any constituency for which they would have had the necessary qualification but for the service which under the Act entitled them to be registered as naval or military voters.

The section provides that the statement of any person made in the prescribed form and verified in the prescribed manner that he would have had the necessary qualification in any constituency but for the service which brings him within the provisions of the section, shall for all purposes of the section be sufficient if there is no evidence to the contrary.

An Order in Council prescribes the form in which these statements are to be made and verified, and arrangements have been made with the Admiralty, the Army Council, and the Air Council, for the collection, so far as is possible from naval or military voters, of information respecting any qualification which they would have had but for their service. The forms have been printed in postcard shape, and so far as is practicable they will be filled up individually by the naval or military voters. In the case of men serving in the forces in distant parts of the world from whom it would not be possible to obtain particulars in time for the first registration, the Record Offices in regard to the Army and the Air Force, and the Admiralty in regard to the Navy, will furnish such information as they can. In this way a large mass of information will reach the registration officers from all classes of naval or military voters.

The registration officers are recommended, on receipt of the postcards, to dispatch them to the officials engaged in preparing the lists in the areas to which the cards relate, so that as far as possible they may utilize them, together with the particulars which they may obtain in the course of their canvass, in preparing the lists of voters. The naval and military voters are, by Rule 17 of the First Schedule to the Act, to be placed automatically on the Absent Voters' List, unless they notify a desire to the contrary, or they are registered in respect of actual residence. Except in the latter cases, the names of naval or military voters will be marked in the register with the letter "a," and will also be included in the separate list of absent voters for the polling district. The cards should therefore be returned by the overseers to the registration officer when the necessary information contained in them has been noted for the purpose of preparing the electors' lists.

The cards in use in the navy, marines, and naval division are of a different form from those adopted for other classes of naval or military voters, being double cards. It is desired that as soon as it is clear that any man in the naval forces will be registered, his card should be marked in the space provided, showing the constituency in which he will be registered, and the card be transmitted to the ship or establishment in which he is recorded as serving. Each card will be received in an envelope and should be returned in the same envelope, re-addressed as indicated thereon. The envelopes can, however, be made up in packages if there are a number relating to the same ship or establishment.

All cards other than naval cards can be retained by the registration officer, but it will be necessary that lists be made out of voters in the Army or Air Force according to Record Offices (of which a list showing the corps included under each office will be sent to the registration officer) and that a copy of the list relating to each Record Office should be forwarded to that office.

These lists should be made and forwarded as soon as the register is sufficiently advanced to enable the registration officer to know that the voters will be registered. These lists will be kept up-to-date by the Record Offices, who will record changes of posting (which are now not numerous), deaths, discharges, and other alterations. These will enable them to supply for future registers particulars of the men entered as electors in the constituency in a more or less up-to-date form. Similarly, if an election takes place, they will supply the lists as amended, so as to show changes in the addresses to which voting papers are to be dispatched.

In cases where inquiry of the service authorities is necessary, it should be addressed in the case of the Army or the Air Force to the Officer i/c Records, and in the case of the Navy and Marines it should be addressed to the Commanding Officer of the Ship or Marine Division (*i.e.*, Chatham, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Eastney, or Deal) if such be known. In other cases application should be made as follows :—

BRANCH OF SERVICE.	DEPARTMENT CONCERNED.
1. Royal Navy and Royal Volunteer Reserve (other than men serving in the Royal Naval Division)	Admiralty, Seaman's Services Branch, S.W.
2. Royal Naval Reserve	The Registration General of Shipping and Seamen, Tower Hill, E.1.
3. Royal Marines	Admiralty, Royal Marine Office, S.E.1.

In the case of the Royal Naval Division, application should be made in all cases to the Officer i/c Records, 63rd (R.N.) Division, 47, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

Inquiries cannot be answered unless the name, official number, rating or rank, and branch of service can be given.

Inquiries as to officers, whether naval or military, must be made to the officers themselves.

It will be borne in mind that the right of a person to be registered as a naval or military voter is in addition to any other right to be registered, and that therefore he can be registered in respect of an actual residence qualification in a constituency. He must, however, make a claim for the purpose, accompanied by a declaration, in the prescribed form, that he has taken reasonable steps to prevent his being registered as a naval or military voter in another constituency. The qualifying period in such a case is one month.

Making Lists into Registers.

The registration officer shall make such additions and corrections in the electors' lists (including the Absent Voters' List) as are required in order to carry out his decisions on any objections or claims, and shall also make any such corrections in those lists by way of the removal of duplicate entries (subject to any expression of choice by the person affected as to those entries), the expunging of the names of persons who are dead or subject to any legal incapacity or the placing of marks or the correction of marks placed against the name of an elector or otherwise as he thinks necessary in order to secure that no person is registered as a parliamentary elector in respect of more than one qualification in the same constituency, or as a local government elector in respect of more than one qualification

> in the same borough for the purpose of borough council elections ; or
>
> in the same electoral division or ward for the purpose of county council, metropolitan borough council, and urban district council elections ; or
>
> in the same parish or ward of a parish for the purpose of rural district council, guardians, or parish elections ;

and otherwise to make those lists complete and accurate as a register.

Printing.

A most important item of expenditure in connection with the registration of the electors, half of which is borne by the State, is the cost of printing the electors' lists and registers, and the supply of various forms which will be provided by the Stationery Office. The Stationery Office will supply direct to the registration officer such copies of prescribed forms as he requires. Copies of Form 5 A, B and C, prescribed by the Order in Council will be sent on demand, together with sheets for the purpose of entering thereon the requisite particulars of persons entitled to be registered.

The forms A, B or C, filled up by householders, will be the main source of information required in preparing the lists, and if a house-to-house service and collection of the returns is systematically made to ensure that all occupiers receive and fill up Form A, the need is not anticipated for supplying books or stationery beyond what each officer should himself have available for the purpose. Small memorandum books or sheets in block form can, however, be supplied by the Stationery Office, if desired.

As regards the printing of the electors' lists and register, it is the intention that these shall not be printed independently, but that in every case the type used for printing the lists should stand, and at a later stage be used for printing the register. The Stationery Office will enter into the contracts with the local printers on behalf of the registration officer, who will in this respect be in the same position as a Government Department whose printing is done through the Stationery Office. Forms of contract will be prepared by the Stationery Office and supplied to the registration officer, and on receipt of these the registration officer should at once take steps to publish as widely as possible, by advertisement or otherwise, that tenders may be made to him for the printing of the lists and registers. When the tenders are received, they should be forwarded to the Stationery Office with any observations he wishes to make as to the merits of the tenders. In forwarding the tenders, the registration officer should inform the Stationery Office of the number of copies estimated to be required of the lists and register respectively, the number being kept as low as practicable. In fixing the number of copies of the register it should, of course, be considered whether, in view of the use of the several divisions for parliamentary and local government elections, as the case may be, a greater number of copies will be required of Division I. Considering the large amount of work which the printing will involve, and the limited time for its execution, it will probably be necessary in most constituencies that the printing should be divided amongst several printers so as to secure the expeditious printing of the lists and registers. The tender form will therefore so be drawn that a printer may tender for part of the lists and register for a constituency, but each part tendered for should comprise a substantial section of the register. It will of course be open to any printer to tender for as many complete sections as he will be in a position to undertake. The contract will cover the printing of the lists of absent voters, as well as the electors' lists and register.

The registration officer may arrange for two copies of the complete register of each constituency to be bound, one bound copy being for his own use and the other for transmission to the Home Office.

The contract will also provide for printing the lists of claims and objections if the registration officer requires this. It will be in the discretion of the registration officer to arrange for these lists being printed elsewhere if convenient, but, in cases where the lists are very short, typed copies would suffice.

The registration officer will himself arrange for any printing work considered to be necessary and not done or supplied by the Stationery Office, and he will also procure stationery, etc., required for carrying out his duties.

The Stationery Office will supply all paper for the lists and registers printed under contract with them, and the printers will account to the Stationery Office for its use. The Stationery Office will not supply paper for printing not done under the contract. The registration officer will make his own arrangements as to the manuscript lists being sent on direct from the overseers to the printers or through him, but it is suggested that he should in every case inspect such lists before they are forwarded to the printer. In any case, the overseers should retain the draft or a copy of the lists so as to avoid delay which might occur through loss or miscarriage. It will probably be found convenient to provide for parts of the lists as soon as prepared to be sent at once to the printer, so that the printer may be able to proceed with the work and not wait for the whole of the draft lists he has undertaken to print.

Publication of Lists.

When the final prints of the electors' lists are received they must be published in the registration unit on or before January 17th or July 15th for spring and autumn registers respectively in each year. The mode of publication is as follows :—

> By depositing a copy of Lists A, B, and C in the chief post office in the parish or registration unit to which the lists relate, or, if such deposit cannot be made,
>
> By depositing a copy in some other convenient place in that parish or registration unit, and
>
> Exhibiting copies in such other manner as is desirable for the purpose of bringing the lists to the notice of those interested.

At the same time and in the same manner the corrupt and illegal practices list (if any) must be published.

The lists when published as above-mentioned must be kept so published for the prescribed period, and if any list is destroyed, mutilated, defaced, or removed another copy must replace it.

Claims.

Any person who claims to be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary or local government elector, and who is not entered, or is entered in an incorrect place or manner, or with incorrect particulars on the electors' lists, may claim to be registered, or to be registered correctly, by sending to the registration officer a claim in the prescribed form not later than the tenth day of February where the claim is for the spring register, and the tenth day of August where the claim is for the autumn register.

The form of claim for a person making a claim on his own behalf shall contain a declaration of the qualification of the claimant to be registered, including a declaration that the claimant has attained the required age, and is a British subject, and of the character in which the claimant desires to be registered, that is to say, either as a parliamentary elector, or as a local government elector, or as a local government elector who is not entitled to vote for all local government elections, and where the claimant claims in respect of a non-residential qualification a declaration of residence or, in case such person has no settled residence, an address to which communications may be sent. A note shall also be added to the form warning the claimant that any false declaration for the purpose of this provision will involve a penalty.

Where the claim is made on behalf of a claimant by another person, the registration officer shall not enter the name of the claimant on the register unless the matters required to be stated in the declaration under the foregoing provision are proved to his satisfaction.

It shall be the duty of the registration officer to publish the lists of claimants, as respects the lists for the spring register not later than the sixteenth day of February, and as respects the lists for the autumn register not later than the sixteenth day of August.

The registration officer shall also consider the claims of which notice is given to him in accordance with these rules, and in respect of which no notice of objection is given, and, if he considers that the claim may be allowed without further inquiry, shall give notice to the claimant that his claim is allowed.

If the registration officer is not satisfied that any such claim can be allowed without inquiry, he shall give at least five clear days' notice to the claimant of the time and place at which the claim will be considered by him.

If on the consideration of any claim or objection it appears to the registration officer that the claimant, or person in respect of whose name objection is taken, is not entitled to be entered on the register in the character in which he claims to be registered, or in which he is entered on the list, but is entitled to be entered on the register, the registration officer may decide that the name of that person shall be so entered on the register.

Any claim or notice of objection under these rules to be sent to the registration officer may be forwarded by post addressed to him at his office.

Any notice which is required to be sent by the registration officer under these rules to any person shall be sufficiently sent if sent by post to the address of that person as given by him for the purpose, or as appearing on the lists, or if there is no such address, to his last known place of abode.

On the consideration of any claim or objection or other matter by the registration officer, any person appearing to the registration officer to be interested may appear and be heard either in person or by any other person, other than counsel, on his behalf. "Any other person, other than counsel" gives audience to the registration agents of the political associations, and to solicitors. The exclusion of counsel follows the prohibition of counsel appearing in the revising barrister's court.

The registration officer may, at the request of any person interested, or if he thinks fit without such request, on the consideration of any claim or objection or other matter, require that the evidence tendered by any person should be given on oath, and may administer an oath for the purpose.

Objections.

Any person whose name appears on the electors' lists for a constituency or local government electoral area may object to the registration of any person whose name is included in the electors' lists for the constituency or the local government electoral area, as the case may be, by sending notice of objection in the prescribed form to the registration officer not later than the fourth day of February in the case of the spring register, and the fourth day of August in the case of the autumn register, and may object to the registration of any person whose name is included in the list of claimants by sending notice of objection in the prescribed form to the registration officer not later than the twenty-fourth day of February in the case of the spring register, and the twenty-fourth day of August in the case of the autumn register.

It shall be the duty of the registration officer to publish a list of the names of persons to whose registration notice of objection has been given not later than the sixteenth day of February in the case of the spring register, and not later than the sixteenth day of August in the case of the autumn register.

The registration officer shall, as soon as practicable after receiving any notice of objection, send a copy of the notice to the person in respect of whose registration the notice of objection is given. (The objector does not have to send notice to the person objected to.)

It shall be the duty of the registration officer to publish a list of the names of persons to whose registration notice of objection has been given not later than the sixteenth day of February in the case of the spring register, and not later than the sixteenth day of August in the case of the autumn register.

It shall be the duty of the registration officer to publish a list of the names of persons included in the list of claimants to whose registration notice of objection has been given by the twenty-fourth day of February in the case of the spring register, and the twenty-fourth day of August in the case of the autumn register.

The registration officer shall, as soon as practicable, consider all objections of which notice has been given to him in accordance with these rules, and for that purpose shall give at least five clear days' notice to the objector and to the person in respect of whose registration the notice of objection has been given, of the time and place at which the objection will be considered by him.

The registration officer shall, without fee, on the application of any person, supply forms of claims and notices of objections.

The registration officer shall, on the application of any person, allow that person to inspect, and take extracts from, or on payment of the prescribed fee, supply to that person copies of the electors' lists for any registration unit in his area, and any claim or notice of objection made under these rules.

Any claim or notice of objection which is under these rules to be sent to the registration officer may be sent to him by post addressed to him at his office.

Any notice which is required to be sent by the registration officer under these rules to any person shall be sufficiently sent if sent by post to the address of that person as given by him for the purpose, or as appearing on the lists, or if there is no such address, to his last known place of abode.

If, on the consideration of any claim or objection, it appears to the registration officer that the claimant, or person in respect of whose name objection is taken, is not entitled to be entered on the register in the character in which he claims to be registered or in which he is entered on the list, but is entitled to be entered on the register in another character or in another place on the register, the registration officer may decide that the name of that person shall be so entered on the register.

Corrections in Lists.

The registration officer shall make such additions and corrections in the electors' lists (including the Absent Voters' List) as are required in order to carry out his decisions on any objections or claims, and shall also make any such corrections in those lists by way of the removal of duplicate entries (subject to any expression of choice by the person affected as to those entries), the expunging of the names of persons who are dead or subject to any legal incapacity, or the placing of marks or the correction of marks placed against the name of an elector, or otherwise as he thinks necessary, in order to secure that no person is registered as a parliamentary elector in respect of more than one qualification in the same constituency, or as a local government elector in respect of more than one qualification

> in the same borough for the purpose of borough council elections ; or
>
> in the same electoral division or ward for the purpose of county council, metropolitan borough council, and urban district council elections ; or
>
> in the same parish or ward of a parish for the purpose of rural district council, guardians, or parish elections ;

and otherwise to make those lists complete and accurate as a register.

Where the registration officer makes any correction in the lists (including the Absent Voters' List) otherwise than in pursuance of a claim or objection or for the purposes of correcting a clerical error, he shall give notice to the person affected by the correction, and give that person an opportunity of objecting to the correction, and, if necessary, of being heard with respect thereto.

Appeals.

A person desiring to appeal against the decision of a registration officer must give notice of appeal in the prescribed form to the registration officer and to the opposite party, if any, when the decision is given or within five days thereafter, specifying the grounds of appeal.

The registration officer shall forward any such notices to the county court in the manner directed by the rules of the court, together, in each case, with a statement of the material facts which, in his opinion, have been established in the case, and of his decision upon the whole case and on any point which may be specified as a ground of appeal, and shall also furnish to the court any further information which the court may require, and which he is able to furnish. The practice sanctioned by this rule is followed in other cases, and the object of it is that, if there is no statement at all for the information of the court, the court has to go into all the facts from beginning to end. If the facts were proved or admitted before the registration officer, they do not require to be proved again. Where there are disputed facts the case is different, but on a point of law the facts proved should be clearly stated.

Where it appears to the registration officer that any notices of appeal given to him are based on similar grounds he shall inform the county court of the fact for the purpose of enabling the county court (if the court thinks fit) to consolidate the appeals, or select a case as a test case.

Appeals are provided for under Sec. 14 of the 1918 Act. The first schedules, rules 29-30, make further provision for notice or appeal from registration officer.

REGISTRATION TIME TABLE.—ENGLAND AND WALES.

(Subject to alteration from time to time by Order in Council).

Subject—matter.	Spring Register.	Autumn Register.
Beginning of qualifying period, sec. 6	July 15th.	Jan. 15th.
End of qualifying period, sec. 6 and 11	Dec. 15th.	June 15th.
Publication of electors' list in three divisions, 1st Sch., rule 6	Jan. 17th.	July 15th.
Publication of the notice as to the making of claims and objections, 1st Sch., rule 6	Feb. 1st.	Aug. 1st.
Publication of the corrupt and illegal practices list, 1st Sch., rule 8 ..	Feb. 1st.	Aug. 1st.
Last day for notice of objection to names on electors' lists, 1st Sch., rule 12	Feb. 4th.	Aug. 4th.
Last day for claims Rule 9	Feb. 10th.	Aug. 10th.
Copy of notice of such objection to be sent by registration officer to person objected to, 1st Sch., rule 13 ..	As soon as practicable.	
Consideration of claims—		
If no objection and registration officer is satisfied, notice to claimant that claimed is allowed, 1st Sch., rule 21	No direction; should be at once.	
If inquiry required, notice to claimant of time and place of hearing, 1st Sch., rule 21	Five clear days' notice.	
Last days for claims to be put on absent voters' list, 1st Sch., rule 16	Feb. 24th.	Aug. 24th.
Last day for notice by naval or military voter that he does not wish to be placed on Absent Voters' List, 1st Sch., rule 17	Feb. 24th.	Aug. 24th.
Publication of list of names of persons objected to, 1st Sch., rule 14 ..	Feb. 16th.	Aug. 16th.

REGISTRATION TIME TABLE (*continued*).

Subject—matter.	Spring Register.	Autumn Register.
Publication of list of claimants Rule 11	Feb. 16th.	Aug. 16th.
Last day for notice of objection to names on list of claimants, 1st Sch., rule 12	Feb. 24th.	Aug. 24th.
Copy of notice of such objection to be sent by registration officer to person objected to, 1st Sch., rule 13 ..	As soon as practicable.	
Notice of corrections by registration officer to persons concerned, giving him opportunity of objecting and being heard, 1st Sch., rule 25 ..	No direction; should be at once.	
Notice of appeal from decision of registration officer to County Court, 1st Sch., rule 29	Within five days of decision.	
Publication of list of claimants objected to, 1st Sch., rule 15	Feb. 24th.	Aug. 24th.
Publication of register, 1st Sch., rule 27	April 15th.	Oct. 15th.
The Absent Voters' List (as supplement to register), 1st Sch., rule 3 ..	April 15th.	Oct. 15th.
Separate list of freemen and liverymen, if any (as part of register), sec. 17 ..	April 15th.	Oct. 15th.
Copy of register to be sent to Home Office, 1st Sch., rule 27	As soon as may be after publication.	
Register comes into force, sec. 11 (2)	April 15th.	Oct. 15th.
Register ceases to be in force, sec. 11	Oct. 15th.	April 15th.

Under the Representation of the People (No. 2) Act, 1922, the following dates are prescribed in connection with the registration of electors, for Scotland and Northern Ireland respectively.

SCOTLAND. Subject—matter.	Spring Register.	Autumn Register.
End of qualifying period, secs. 6 and 11	Dec. 15th.	June 15th.
Publication of electors' lists, 1st Sch., Rule 6	Feb. 1st.	Aug. 1st.
Last day for notice of objections to electors' lists, 1st Sch., rule 12	Feb. 15th.	Aug. 15th.
Last day for claims, 1st Sch., rule 9	Feb. 15th.	Aug. 15th.
Last day for claims as absent voters, 1st Sch., rule 16 ..	Feb. 25th.	Aug. 25th.

REGISTRATION TIME TABLE—SCOTLAND (*continued*).

Subject—matter.	Spring Register.	Autumn Register
Last day for notification of desire by naval or military voter not to be placed on absent voters' list, 1st Sch., rule 17	Feb. 25th.	Aug. 25th.
Publication of list of objections to electors' lists, 1st Sch., rule 14	Feb. 22nd.	Aug. 22nd.
Publication of list of claimants, 1st Sch., rule 11	Feb. 22nd.	Aug. 22nd.
Last day for objections to claimants, 1st Sch., rule 12	Feb. 27th.	Aug. 27th.
Publication of list of objections to claimants, 1st Sch., rule 15	Feb. 27th.	Aug. 27th.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

Subject—matter.	Annual Register.
End of qualifying period, Section 44 (11) (*a*)	July 15th.
Publication of electors' lists, 1st Sch., rule 6	Sept. 1st.
Last day for notice of objections to electors' lists, 1st Sch., rule 12	Sept. 15th.
Last day for claims, 1st Sch., rule 9	Sept. 18th.
Last day for claims as absent voters, 1st Sch., rule 16	Sept. 18th.
Last day for notification of desire by naval or military voter not to be placed on absent voters list, 1st Sch., rule 17	Sept. 18th.
Publication of list of objections to electors' lists, 1st Sch., rule 14	Sept. 21st.
Publication of list of claimants, 1st Sch., rule 11	Sept. 24th.
Last day for objections to claimants, 1st Sch., rule 12	Oct. 5th.
Publication of list of objections to claimants, 1st Sch., rule 15	Oct. 5th.
Register comes into force, Secs. 11 (1) and 44 (11) (*b*)	Dec. 15th.

Registration Expenses.

Registration expenses are provided for in the following manner with special provision as to certain urban districts and London.

Any expenses properly incurred by a registration officer in the performance of his duties in relation to registration, including all proper and reasonable charges for trouble, care, and attention in the performance of those duties, and any costs incurred by him as party to an appeal (in the Act referred to as "registration expenses") shall be paid by the council whose clerk the registration officer is, or by whom he is appointed, subject, in cases where the registration area is not coterminous with or wholly contained in the area of that council, to such contributions by the council of any other county or borough as the Home Office may direct.

Any such expenses shall be paid in the case of the council of a county out of the county fund, and if the case requires as expenses for special county purposes, and in the case of the council of a borough out of the borough fund or borough rate, or, where there is no borough fund or borough rate, out of the fund or rate out of which the ordinary expenses of the council of the borough are paid.

Any expenses incurred by the registration officer of a class to which the scale is applicable shall be taken to be properly incurred if they do not exceed the maximum amount determined by or in accordance with the scale, and so far as they do exceed that amount shall be taken not to have been properly incurred unless the excess is specially sanctioned by the council and Treasury either before or after the expenses have been incurred.

If any question arises whether any expenses incurred by the registration officer of a class to which the scale is not applicable have been properly incurred or not, that question shall be referred to the Home Office, and the decision of the Secretary of State on the question shall be final.

The expenses of the overseers in furnishing to the registration officer particulars as to jurors will be defrayed out of the local poor rate as hitherto.

Any fees or other sum received by the registration officer in respect of his duties as such officer, other than sums paid to that officer in respect of his registration expenses, shall be accounted for by that officer and paid to the credit of the fund or rate out of which the expenses of that officer are paid.

There shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament to the council of any county or borough in aid of the fund or rate out of which any registration expenses are paid by the council, in accordance with the Act, one-half of the amount so paid by the council.

On the request of the registration officer of any registration area for an advance on account of registration expenses, the council whose clerk the registration officer is, may, if they think fit, make such an advance to him of such amount and subject to such conditions as the council may approve.

Where an urban district is coterminous with a registration area which is a parliamentary borough, or is wholly contained in such area, this part of the Act shall apply to that district as it applies to a municipal borough, with the substitution of the clerk of the urban district council for the town clerk, or the urban district council for the council for the borough, of the general district rate for the borough fund or borough rate, and of the chairman of the council for the mayor.

Any reference to a municipal borough in this part of the Act shall include a reference to a metropolitan borough and the City of London, with the substitution, as respects a metropolitan borough, of the clerk of the metropolitan borough council for the town clerk, and of the metropolitan borough council for the council of the municipal borough and as respects the City of London, of the Secondary for the town clerk and of the common council for the council of the municipal borough.

Any registration expenses of a metropolitan borough council shall be paid as general expenses of the council, and any expenses of the common council shall be paid out of the general rate.

The Treasury scale of expenses for England and Wales are as follows, S.R. & O. 1920 No. 395 :—

I.—PARLIAMENTARY COUNTIES.

	£	s.	d.
(a) *Registration Officer's Fee* (including payments to Deputies).			
For the first 30,000 electors or less in the Registration area	125	0	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 30,000 up to 200,000	2	10	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 200,000	2	0	0
(b) *Registration Officer's Fee in respect of the remuneration of Clerks.*			
For the first 30,000 electors or less in the Registration area	125	0	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 30,000 up to 200,000	2	10	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 200,000	1	5	0
(c) *Registration Officer's Expenses in respect of the remuneration of Assistant Overseers and other persons similarly employed.*			
In a parish where the number of electors :—			
(i) does not exceed 250, for every elector ..	0	0	5
with a minimum of	1	0	0
(ii) exceeds 250, but does not exceed 1,000, for every 100 electors	1	10	0
(iii) exceeds 1,000, but does not exceed 2,000, for every 100 electors	1	2	6
(iv) exceeds 2,000, for every 100 electors up to 5,000	1	0	0
and for every 100 electors beyond 5,000 ..	0	17	6

Provided that the expenditure allowable under any item of this scale shall not be less than the maximum under the preceding item.

II.—PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGHS OUTSIDE LONDON.

	£	s.	d.
(a) *Registration Officer's Fee* (including payments to Deputies).			
For each 1,000 electors up to 30,000	2	10	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 30,000 up to 100,00	2	0	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 100,000 up to 200,000	1	13	4
For each 1,000 electors beyond 200,000	1	6	8

	£	s.	d.
(*b*) *Registration Officer's Expenses in respect of the remuneration of Clerks.*			
For the first 30,000 electors or less in the Registration area	100	0	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 30,000 up to 200,000	1	10	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 200,000	1	3	4
(*c*) *Registration Officer's Expenses in respect of the remuneration of Assistant Overseers and other persons similarly employed.*			
For every 100 electors in the parish up to 5,000 ..	1	0	0
For every 100 electors in the parish beyond 5,000	0	17	6

III.—PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGHS IN LONDON.

	£	s.	d.
(*a*) *Registration Officer's Fee* (including payments to Deputies).			
For each 1,000 electors in the Registration area up to 30,000	2	10	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 30,000 up to 100,000	2	0	0
For each 1,000 electors beyond 100,000	1	13	4
(*b*) *Registration Officer's Expenses in respect of the remuneration of Clerks, Canvassers, etc.*			
For each 100 electors up to 30,000..	1	7	6
For each additional 100 electors beyond 30,000 up to 100,000	1	5	0
For each additional 100 electors beyond 100,000	1	2	6

Printing, etc., Expenditure.

(1) Where the printing is carried out under arrangements made by His Majesty's Stationery Office such amount as may be certified by that Department to be the expenditure incurred in connection therewith.

(2) Printing carried out directly by the registration officer and other out-of-pocket expenditure.

The actual expenditure supported as far as possible by vouchers and certified by a statutory declaration by the registration officer to the effect that it was necessarily and properly incurred. First-class railway expenses, and subsistence allowance at the rate of £1 a night when the registration officer or his deputy are necessarily absent from their homes on account of their registration duties, will be allowed.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

THE MANAGEMENT AND CONDUCT OF MUNICIPAL AND OTHER LOCAL ELECTIONS.

(1) MUNICIPAL AND COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

THIS chapter is devoted entirely to the question of the management, conduct and the running of all elections for the nine kinds of municipal and other local elections.

In many parts of the country the secretary or the Registration Agent of the local political Association is called upon to run candidates for County Council, Municipal, Urban and Rural District Councils, Metropolitan Boroughs, Court of Common Council, in the case of the City of London, and Boards of Guardians and Parish Council elections. This chapter is written with the object of instructing candidates and workers, the returning officers, and all those other persons engaged in the management and conduct of such elections.

The whole of the United Kingdom is divided into counties, boroughs, and parishes, and for poor law purposes into unions of parishes. The counties correspond with their geographical areas except in certain cases where there is slight overlapping. County councils were created by the Local Government Act of 1888 as the unit of local government for the administrative and financial business of the county. The term " county " includes a number of towns with a population of over 50,000 termed " county boroughs." Several counties have more than one county council such as Yorkshire with three, Suffolk and Sussex with two, etc. The administrative County of London comprises the metropolitan portions of Middlesex, Kent, and Surrey. At the time of writing there is a Royal Commission sitting to work out a scheme of Greater London, but that is not yet.

The chairman of each county council is elected for three years by the aldermen and councillors, and the aldermen by the councillors for six years—half retiring every three years.

Councillors are elected every three years. Generally speaking the qualification for county councillors is the same as for borough councillors. The subject of qualifications and disqualifications is dealt with below. The chairman of a county council is *ex officio* a justice of the peace for the county. Persons of either sex registered as county electors, or enrolled local government electors of any non-county borough are entitled to vote in county council elections.

London County Council.

The constitution of the London County Council differs somewhat from that of other county councils. Each parliamentary division in the London County Council area elects two members to the council with the exception of the City of London, which elects four, making a total of 124 councillors including 20 aldermen and a chairman, making a grand total of 145. (See subsection of this chapter on London County Council Elections.)

Functions and Powers of a County Council.

The functions of a county council include partial control of the county police. It is the educational authority of the county except in the case of urban districts of over 20,000 population and of boroughs of over 10,000. It has the powers to make by-laws, take over and repair and maintain main roads, make contributions towards the cost of improving any highway or public footpath although not a main road, and repair county bridges. It is the public health authority for the county and elects the county medical officer of health. It has certain duties and powers in relation to housing. It is charged with establishing and maintaining industrial schools, reformatories, lunatic asylums, etc. Small holdings and allotments come under its control. It grants various licences. It appoints the coroner and county surveyor. Boundaries of districts and parish councils are fixed by the county council, and it can make orders for the grouping of parishes. It exercises supervisory powers over the lesser local government bodies. It levies the county rate, supervises old age pensions, sanctions loans to parish councils, and has large borrowing powers for public works, etc.

Municipal Boroughs.

A municipal borough is accorded wide powers of self government and of making by-laws in local affairs under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882. Boroughs are sometimes incorporated by royal charter. A municipal borough consists of a mayor, aldermen and councillors, the councillors being elected by the local government electors, and the mayor and aldermen by the councillors. The mayor is an *ex officio* magistrate for the borough, serves one year and in some cases receives a salary. Councillors serve three years, the aldermen six years, one-third of the latter retiring annually. Boroughs of over 50,000 inhabitants can be turned into administrative counties, and are not then under the power of the county council. A borough has all the powers of an urban or rural district council.

The law relating to municipal corporations is contained in the Municipal Corporation Act, 1882. The county council is constituted and elected under Section 2 of the Local Government Act, 1888. The law and procedure for the elections of chairmen, aldermen and county councillors is, with certain reservations, the same as for the election of mayors, aldermen and members of municipal boroughs. Under the 1888 Act certain boroughs become "county boroughs," and the qualifications and disqualifications in the case of each class of candidate is given below.

In this section of the chapter, municipal and county council elections are taken together, and except where the contrary is stated the provisions apply to both classes of elections. In dealing with the various special sections it will be necessary to resort to repetition to some considerable extent, but this is desirable in order to make each special section a complete guide to the management and conduct of any one class of local election.

Qualifications (Councillor).

A person must be legally qualified and enrolled, and entitled to be enrolled, as a local government elector and possessed of real or personal property to the value, in the county, of £1,000; or is rated to the poor rate in the county to the annual value of £30. A person is qualified to be elected, who is at the time of the election qualified to elect to the office of councillor. In short the £1,000 or the £30 qualification does not apply to the ordinary elector, but his title to be registered as an elector must be good or his return to the council may be challenged on petition. If a person qualified as above ceases for twelve months to reside in the county, he shall cease to be qualified, and his office shall become vacant, unless the person is, at the time of his or her election, qualified and continues to be qualified in some other manner. A person is also qualified if he or she has resided within the county or borough during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election, or is the owner of property held by freehold, copyhold, leasehold or any other tenure within the area of the county council local government authority. The foregoing means that any person who has resided in, or who is the owner of property in the county, or who is properly enrolled as a local government elector, may be elected a councillor and need not be additionally qualified for election by property or rating, see also page 297. Peers owning property in the county shall be qualified to be elected as county councillors. Clerks in Holy Orders, and other ministers of religion, may also be elected if duly qualified. The County or Borough Councils (Qualification) Act, 1914, adds the qualification by residence within the county or borough during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election.

Qualification of Town Councillors.

The qualification of town councillors is defined by the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, and by the Representation of the People Act, 1918.

> A person is not qualified to be elected, or to be a Town Councillor, unless he is
>
> (*a*) Enrolled, and entitled to be enrolled, as a local government elector for the borough for which he is a candidate, and is possessed of real or personal property to the value or amount in the case of a borough having four or more wards of £1,000 ; or in the case of any other borough, of £500, or is rated to the poor rate in the borough, in the case of a borough having four or more wards on the annual value of £30, and in the case of any other borough of £15.
>
> (*b*) Provided that every person shall be qualified to be elected, and to be a borough councillor, who is at the time of election qualified to elect to the office of councillor, which last-mentioned qualification for being elected shall be alternative for, and shall not repeal or take away any other qualification. But if a person qualified under the last fore-

going proviso ceases for six months to reside in the borough he shall cease to be qualified under that proviso and his office shall become vacant, unless he was at the time of his election, and continues to be, qualified in some other manner.

(*c*) Has resided within the borough during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election.

(*d*) Is the owner of property held by freehold, leasehold, copyhold or any other tenure within the area of the local government authority. The practical effect of these provisions is that any person who has so resided or who is the owner of property in the borough or who is properly enrolled as a local government elector may be elected a councillor for that borough, and need not in that case be qualified for election by property or rating.

A person who is enrolled in one ward is entitled to be elected for any other ward in the same borough. Women are now qualified for election as county or borough councillors, or aldermen, or mayor, and now may act as magistrates.

Franchise.

The new Local Government Franchise for men sweeps away all existing local government franchises such as the occupation qualification, household qualification, service and lodger votes but certain ancient qualifications including, *inter alia*, freemen and liverymen are preserved. For municipal councils the old burgess qualification of the £10 occupation disappears, and for county councils the burgess and the £10 occupation elector's qualification ceases.

Further notes on the franchise qualification will be found under the heading in the section of this chapter dealing with Urban District Council and Rural District Council elections. The electors' register is now marked, in the case of local government electors, showing those not entitled to vote for all local government electoral areas in the same registration unit, and therefore no person can vote in the same constituency in the case of a local government election in respect of more than one qualification in the same borough, for the purpose of a borough council election, or in respect of more than one qualification in the same electoral division or ward for the purpose of a county council or metropolitan borough council election, etc.

Men.

A man is entitled to be registered as a local government elector for a local government electoral area if he is of full age, and is subject to no legal incapacity, and was on the last day of the qualifying period occupying as owner or tenant any land or premises in that area, and during the whole of the qualifying period so occupied land, or premises in that area. For the purposes of this franchise a man who inhabits any dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment shall, if the dwelling-house is inhabited by the person in whose service he is, be deemed to be occupying the dwelling-house as a tenant. The word tenant includes a person who occupies a room or rooms as a lodger only where such rooms are let to him in an unfurnished state. The absent owner has now lost his vote. The local government franchise is confined to occupiers whether as owner or tenant. A naval or military voter who is registered in respect of a residence qualification which he would have had but for his service shall be deemed to be registered in accordance with the qualification.

Women.

A woman is entitled to be registered as a local government elector for any local government electoral area where she would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man, and where she is the wife of a man who is entitled to be so registered in respect of premises in which they both reside, and she has attained the age of 30 years, and is subject to no legal incapacity. The expression "if she were a man" would appear to include occupying in her own right on the last day and during the qualifying period as owner or tenant any land or premises in the local government electoral area, county or county borough. Women are entitled to the "service" and "unfurnished lodger" vote. An unmarried woman or a married woman qualified by her own right by occupation obtains the local government franchise at 21 years of age, but as the wife residing with her husband she cannot obtain this franchise through him until she attains the age of 30. Thus a spinster less than 30 years of age is liable to lose her local government vote through marriage and until she attains that age.

Former Qualifications.

The former municipal franchise qualification consisted of (1) occupation in the borough of a building of any value or of land to the clear yearly value of £10, (2) residence in or within seven miles of the borough, (3) being rated or paying rates, (4) being a peer and owning property in the county, (5) being registered as an ownership voter for parliament in a county. In the London County Council area a parochial elector is entitled to a vote at county council elections. The whole subject of London County Council elections is dealt with a separate sub-section of this chapter.

Disqualifications.

Persons disqualified from being registered as local government electors include infants, aliens, those who have been convicted or reported guilty of corrupt or illegal practices in any election, or of such offence whilst in office, or persons convicted of treason, felony, etc. The whole subject of corrupt and illegal practices at local government and parliamentary elections is dealt with in Chapter Seventeen. The poor law disqualification has disappeared.

Disqualified from being elected.

Under this heading is included all the above together with persons in Holy Orders, or who are the regular ministers of dissenting congregations, but persons in Holy Orders or other ministers of religion are *not* disqualified from being elected to county councils, or from becoming aldermen of such bodies. Officers of the regular forces on active service cannot be elected for municipal councils, but can be elected for county councils. This provision, however, does not apply to officers in the militia, yeomanry, or territorial force. A Recorder is disqualified for the borough for which he sits. An elective auditor or one who holds an office or place of profit other than mayor or sheriff, in the gift or disposal of the municipal council, is disqualified. As there are no elective auditors for county councils, this disqualification does not apply in that case. The coroner for a county is disqualified for election to the county council for the county of which he is coroner. No person who has directly or indirectly by himself or his partner any share or interest in any contract or employment with, by, or on behalf of the council can be elected. There are, however, certain exceptions. Such a person shall not be disqualified by reason only of his having any share or interest in any lease, sale, or purchase of land or any agreement for the same or any agreement for the loan of money or any security for payment of money, or interest in any newspaper in which any advertisements relating to the affairs of the borough council is inserted, or any company which contracts with the council for lighting or supplying water or insuring against fire in any part of the borough, or if he has any share or interest in any railway company or other company incorporated by Act of Parliament or Royal Charter or under the Companies Act of 1862, neither is such a person disqualified for being a member of a county council by reason of having any share or interest in any contract with such county council for the supply from land of which he is the owner or occupier of stone, gravel, or other materials for making or repairing highways or bridges, provided the share or interest does not exceed £50 in any one year.

Votes given for a disqualified candidate after notice of disqualification are to be treated as if the vote was not given at all, and can only be dealt with on petition. Votes given before notice of disqualification are good. All possible publicity should be given to notice of disqualification by sending or serving one on every elector, by affixing them in prominent places for all to see at the polling station, and by advertisements in local newspapers. The statutory form of notice of disqualification is given below.

NOTICE OF DISQUALIFICATION OF CANDIDATE.

Election 19 .

To the electors of the of

Whereas of , a candidate at the present election of for the said is disqualified (*here state grounds of disqualification*) and whereas the said is consequently incapacitated and disqualified from being elected as a for the said Now take notice, that all votes given for the said at the present election will be thrown away and wholly null and void.

Signed

(To be signed by a candidate at the election or by three registered electors.)

Vacancies.

Vacancies on councils occur through the following causes. (1) When the various officers go out of office at the end of their term and (2) by death, non-acceptance of office, by resignation, payment of fine, continuous absence from the borough (except in the case of illness), bankruptcy, or arrangement or composition with creditors, conviction for treason, felony, corrupt or illegal practices, or on the election of a councillor as an alderman.

The mayor of a municipal council goes out of office on the 9th of November annually, although he continues to hold office until his successor is appointed and has made the declaration. (If the mayor is one of the councillors who go out of office on the 1st November, he causes a vacancy in the number of councillors.) One half of the aldermen go out of office every third year. One third of the councillors, i.e., those who have been longest in office without re-election, go out on the 1st November annually.

County Councils.

The chairman of a county council and the county aldermen are elected on the 16th day of March or within ten days after the ordinary day of retirement as fixed by the county council. The ordinary day of retirement of county councillors is the 8th day of March in every third year, and on that day the county councillors then in office retire together.

Office declared vacant.

An office is declared vacant if a person delivers to the clerk in writing notice signed by himself resigning the office, and on payment of the fine provided for non-acceptance of office. The council shall then declare the office to be vacant and signify the same in writing, signed by three members of the council and countersigned by the clerk.

Acceptance or Non-Acceptance of Office.

The person accepting a corporate office shall do so by making and subscribing the required declaration within five days after notice of election. If he does not accept the office he shall be liable to pay to the council a fine of an amount not exceeding, in the case of an alderman, councillor, or elective auditor the sum of £50, and in the case of a mayor, £100, as the council may by by-law determine. If there are no by-laws determining fines in the case of an alderman, councillor, or elective auditor, the fine shall be £25, in the case of a mayor the sum of £50. There are certain exceptions to the obligation to accept office or pay fine, as in the case of lunatics, imbeciles, deaf and infirm persons, and certain other persons over 65 years of age. Notice of acceptance in the case of county councils can be made within three months. Any fine imposed is recoverable summarily.

Resignation.

Resignation must be made in writing and delivered to the clerk and the fine paid. The council shall forthwith declare the office vacant by notice signed by three members of the council, countersigned by the clerk and fixed to the town hall or council offices.

Continuous Absence.

If a mayor, alderman or councillor is, except in the case of illness, continuously absent from the borough, in the case of a mayor for more than two months, or in the case of an alderman or councillor for more than six months, such person shall be disqualified and shall cease to hold office, and is liable to pay fine as aforesaid. As regards aldermen and councillors of a county council, twelve months absence is substituted for the six months mentioned above, and the chairman or deputy chairman of a county council if absent becomes disqualified as such by reason of absence. In the case of absence, the office is declared vacant as in the case of non-acceptance of office or resignation and a fine imposed. No election can be held until the office is declared vacant.

An officer or soldier of the auxiliary forces or of the reserve forces on active service or on service beyond the seas, shall not by reason only of his absence on that service be disqualified or vacate his office or incur any fine or other liability.

Bankruptcy.

Bankruptcy or arrangement or composition with creditors immediately disqualifies a mayor, alderman or councillor from holding office. The disqualification disappears as regards his subsequent elections on the obtaining of discharge from bankruptcy, on composition or payment of debts in full, or on arrangement, of obtaining a certificate of discharge. An elective auditor who makes a composition or arrangement is not disqualified. Disqualification in the case of bankruptcy ceases on annulment or discharge of bankruptcy, and a certificate to the effect that the bankruptcy was caused by misfortune without any misconduct on the part of the bankrupt. These provisions expressly apply to members of a county council. If such a certificate is not obtained the disqualification ceases at the end of five years from the date of discharge.

Other Causes.

Several other causes create casual vacancies such as conviction for treason or felony, conviction for corrupt and illegal practices, an office being declared vacant on election petition, the election of a councillor as an alderman, etc. An alderman upon being elected a councillor vacates his seat as alderman.

Date of Elections.

County councils usually retire every third year. The ordinary day of election must be between March 1st and March 8th. The ordinary day of election in the case of a municipal election is the 9th November.

Election of Mayor.

A mayor is elected by the council of the borough. The election of the mayor is the first business of the council. The outgoing aldermen may vote on the election of mayor. The chairman of the meeting although not entitled to vote in the first instance shall give the casting vote on the election of mayor in the event of a tie. A quorum for a municipal council is a third of the number of the whole council and in the case of county council a fourth. A person who is a candidate for election cannot act as chairman at his own election. An outgoing alderman is eligible to be elected mayor, and is also entitled to vote in the election of mayor, but an outgoing county alderman may not, as a county alderman, vote in the election of chairman. A mayor may not act until he has made and subscribed the following declaration unless it is to administer the declaration.

FORM OF DECLARATION OF ACCEPTANCE OF CORPORATE OFFICE.

I   , having been elected Mayor (*or alderman or councillor or elective auditor*) for the borough of   , hereby declare that I take such office upon myself and will duly and faithfully fulfil the duties thereof according to the best of my judgment and ability. (*If the person is qualified by Estate the following words should be added.*) And I hereby declare that I am seized or possessed of real or personal property, estate (or both) to the value or amount of £1,000 or £500 (in the case of aldermen or councillors), over and above that which will satisfy my just debts.

Signed.

Election of Aldermen (Municipal).

Aldermen are elected on the 9th of November of every third year. Their election is the first business of the council after the election of mayor, or if there be a sheriff after the appointment of sheriff. An outgoing alderman, including the mayor-elect, may not vote. The method of election is as follows.

Every person who is entitled to vote may do so for any number of persons not exceeding the number of vacancies and must sign and personally deliver to the chairman at the meeting the voting paper showing the names of the persons for whom he votes. The chairman as soon as the voting papers are delivered to him shall openly produce and read the voting papers and hand them to the town clerk to be kept for twelve months. The chairman has a casting vote in the event of a tie. Persons having the greatest number of votes shall be declared by the chairman to be elected. The number of aldermen is one-third the number of councillors. An alderman must make the above declaration, suitably adapted before he can act.

County Aldermen.

The ordinary day of election of county aldermen is the 16th March or any day within ten days of the 8th March fixed by the county council. The number of aldermen is one-third the number of councillors. In the London County Council the number of county aldermen is not to exceed one-sixth of the number of county councillors. The term of office for aldermen is six years. The method of election of county aldermen is similar to the method described in the paragraph above on Election of Aldermen (Municipal).

Election of Councillors.

Term of office of councillors is three years, and one-third of the councillors, *i.e.*, those who have been longest in office without re-election, go out of office. County councillors retire together at the end of three years. The ordinary day of election of municipal councillors is the first of November, but in the case of county councillors it is a day between the 1st and 8th of March as the county council may fix. If the day of election falls on Sunday, etc., the election is to be held the following day.

Notice of Election.

Nine days before the day of election the town clerk must prepare and sign a notice of election as given below and publish same by affixing it on the town hall, or in a conspicuous place in the ward as the case may be. A similar notice is required for an election of an elective auditor except in the case of a county council where there is no elective auditor.

NOTICE.

Borough of . Election of (*councillors or elective auditors as the case may be*) for the ward (or several wards) of the borough.

TAKE NOTICE.

1. That an election of (*here insert number of councillors or elective auditors*) for the ward (or wards) of the said borough will be held on the day of

2. Candidates must be nominated by writing, subscribed by two burgesses as proposer and seconder, and by eight other burgesses as assenting to the nomination.

3. Candidates must be duly qualified for the offices to which they are nominated, and the nomination paper must state the surname and other names of the persons nominated, with his abode and description, and may be in the following form, or to the like effect.

(*Form of nomination paper is given on page* 352.)

4. Each candidate must be nominated by a separate nomination paper, but the same burgesses or any of them may subscribe as many nomination papers as there are vacancies to be filled for the borough (*or ward*) but no more.

5. Every person who forges a nomination paper or delivers any nomination paper knowing same to be forged, will be guilty of a misdemeanour, and be liable to imprisonment for any term not exceeding six months, with or without hard labour.

6. Nomination papers must be delivered by the candidate himself, or his proposer or seconder, at the town clerk's office before five in the afternoon of day the day of next.

7. The Mayor will attend at the Town Hall on day the day of , for a sufficient time between 2.0 and 4.0 o'clock in the afternoon, to hear and decide objections to nomination papers.

8. Forms of nomination may be obtained at the town clerk's office ; and the town clerk will, at the request of any burgess, fill up a nomination paper.

Dated this day of 19 .

Town Clerk.

Nominations.

The town clerk must provide nomination papers and supply them to any local government elector as required. The name of the electoral division should be inserted. The form of nomination paper is set out below :—

NOMINATION PAPER.

Borough of . Election of Councillors (or *Elective Auditors*) for ward in the said Borough (*or the said Borough*) to be held on the day of , 19 .

We the undersigned, being respectively burgesses, hereby nominate the following persons as a candidate at the said election.

Surname.	Other Names.	Abode.	Description.
		See note on page 353.	

Signature.	Number on burgess roll, with the ward or polling district, if any, having a district numbering.
(*Here the proposer and seconder sign their names as they appear on the Register.*)	

We the undersigned, being respectively burgesses, hereby assent to the nomination of the above-named person as a candidate at the said election.

Dated this day of , 19 .

Signature.	Number on burgess roll, etc. (as above).
(Here the eight assentors sign their names as they appear on the Register.)	

> *In filling in the* ABODE *of a candidate it should be where he actually lives, not where his name appears on the register of voters. If he is on the register for business premises but resides outside the borough, his residence should be stated under the heading "abode," not his business premises. If the latter is given the nomination paper may be rejected as invalid. The address of the abode should be given as fully as possible.*

Every candidate must be nominated in writing by a proposer and seconder, and the nomination assented to by eight other electors. No person must subscribe to a nomination in or for more than one ward or for more candidates than there are vacancies. Signatures on the nomination papers must correspond with the name of the person as it appears on the electoral register.

Under the Ballot Act the expression " register of voters " means the burgess roll of the burgesses of the borough, or, in the case of an election for the ward of a borough, the ward list; the returning officer must provide true copies of such register at each polling station. Detailed instructions as to the filling in of nomination papers is given in Chapter Four of this book. Nomination papers must be delivered to the returning officer either by a candidate himself, his proposer or seconder, and cannot be delivered by an agent. Papers must be delivered at the place fixed by the returning officer seven days before the day of an election and before 5.0 p.m. A candidate can withdraw from nomination not later than two p.m. on the day following the last day of delivery for nominations. Objections to nominations must be made in writing between two p.m. and four p.m. on the day next after the last day for delivery of nomination papers. The decision of the mayor on objections shall be given in writing and, if disallowing the objection, it shall be final. If allowing same, however, it is subject to reversal on petition. The mayor or returning officer has no jurisdiction to entertain an objection relating to the qualification of a candidate. Agents may be appointed to attend objections, and the appointment must be in writing in the following form and delivered to the town clerk before 5.0 p.m. on the last day for the delivery of nominations.

APPOINTMENT OF AGENT TO ATTEND BEFORE MAYOR.

Borough of

To the Returning Officer at an election of councillors for the ward of the said borough to be held on the day of , 19 , and to the town clerk of the said borough.

I, , having been duly nominated as a candidate at the said election do hereby appoint to attend the proceedings before the mayor on my behalf on the day of , 19 .

Dated this day of , 19 .

Signed (*Candidate.*)

The form of decision given by the mayor on an objection is below:

DECISION BY MAYOR ON OBJECTION TO NOMINATION PAPER.

Borough of

Election of councillors for the ward of the said borough on the day of , 19 .

I, , mayor of the said borough do hereby allow (*or disallow*) the objection of to the nomination paper of

Dated this day of , 19 .

Signed

(*Mayor.*)

The nomination of a person absent from the United Kingdom shall be void unless his written consent, given within one month before the day of his nomination in the presence of two witnesses is produced at the time of his nomination.

At least four days before the day of election the returning officer must publish full names, addresses, and descriptions of all persons nominated and their proposers and seconders. If the number of persons nominated exceeds the number of vacancies a poll must be held, and the poll must be conducted as far as possible on the lines of the poll at a parliamentary election. If the number of nominations is less than the vacancies the persons nominated shall be declared elected, and such of the retiring councillors who were highest at the poll on their last election selected to fill the vacancies up to the required number and deemed to be re-elected. If no one is nominated the retiring councillors are deemed to be re-elected.

Uncontested Election.

If the election of a councillor is not contested the returning officer must publish a list of the persons elected not later than 11.0 a.m. on the day of election. There is no provision for a candidate to withdraw after nomination.

Death.

If a candidate dies between nomination and the poll, the returning officer, as in the case of a parliamentary election, must countermand the poll and commence the election afresh. There is no necessity for fresh nominations for candidates already nominated. In the case of death application has to be made to the Court to fix a new date for the election. There is no provision in the case of death of a candidate after the poll has opened. As in the case of parliamentary elections the returning officer must proceed with the poll, and if the dead candidate is elected, duly declare his election. In such a case it would appear, although there is no decision on the point, that the office would be declared vacant by the report of death. In case of death before nomination see page 261.

The Returning Officer.

At the election of councillors for a whole borough, the returning officer is the mayor. In the absence or death of the mayor, the council may appoint an alderman to act. At an election for a ward the returning officer is to be an alderman assigned for that purpose by the council at its meeting on the 9th November. A mayor who is returning officer for a municipal borough is incapable of being elected to the office of councillor or alderman unless another is appointed returning officer in his place. In the case of a county council election the returning officer is such person as the county council may appoint, and the returning officer so appointed may appoint a deputy who will exercise all the powers and assume the liabilities of the returning officer. A returning officer for the purpose of an election has all the powers of a sheriff.

Duties of Returning Officer.

It is the duty of a returning officer to provide everything which is necessary for the proper carrying out of the election. He has to give notice of elections, supply nomination papers, and receive nominations, give decisions on objections to nominations, notice to the persons nominated, give notice of the poll, provide polling stations with all the necessary furniture for efficiently conducting the election, such as voting compartments, ballot papers, materials for marking ballot papers, stamping instruments, copies of the register of voters, stationery, printed forms, etc., etc. The complete list of the stationery and sundry requisites for polling stations is given in Chapter Fourteen, and as stated in the advertisement columns of this book are supplied in boxes by Messrs. Charles Knight & Co., Ltd. The returning officer must also appoint the presiding officers and clerks at the polling stations, and assistants to count the votes after the close of the poll. He must also provide for the attendance of constables for duty at the polling stations. Other duties are assigned to him as set out under the subsection of this chapter, entitled "After the Poll." The returning officer has the casting vote in the event of a tie between contesting candidates. The returning officer is liable if he does not conduct the election as required by law. He is prohibited from acting as agent to any candidate; so also is his deputy or partners or clerks.

Returning Officer's Expenses.

The expenses of the returning officer and the fee, if any, for his services in the case of a county council, including a county borough, and municipal election are fixed under the general Order, dated 20th November, 1894, issued under the Local Government Act of 1894, and are as follows :—

DISBURSEMENTS.

Payments made for—

1. Use of room or building, including lighting and firing.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding for each polling station 10s.
2. Fitting up rooms required for poll or, when necessary; hiring or constructing a polling station with its fittings and compartments.	Actual and necessary cost.
3. Each ballot box required to be purchased.	Actual and necessary cost.
4. Use of each ballot box, when hired.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 2s. 6d.
5. Printing and providing ballot papers.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding for the first 500 £1; and for every 100, or fraction of 100, an addition of 1s.

DISBURSEMENTS (Continued).

6. Stationery at each polling station.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 2s. 6d.
7. Each stamping instrument, purchase, or hire, or alteration.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 10s.
8. Copies of the register of parochial electors.	Actual and necessary cost.
9. Printing and providing notices, nomination forms and other documents required in and about the election or poll and costs of publishing same.	Actual and necessary cost.
10. Returning Officer's travelling expenses, where necessary, to make arrangements for poll.	By rail, 3rd class; by road, where necessary, actual cost, not exceeding 9d. a mile each way.
11. Conveyance of ballot boxes, papers, etc., from office to polling place.	Actual and necessary cost (by railway or parcel post where practicable).
12. Conveyance of ballot boxes from the polling stations to the place where the ballot papers are counted.	By rail, actual fare, 3rd class; by road, actual cost, not exceeding 1s. a mile.
13. For the services of police where required.	The sum actually charged.

When the poll is open for

	12 hours or upwards.			less than 12 hours but not less than 8 hours.			less than 8 hours but not less than 6 hours.			less than 6 hours.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
14. For each presiding officer, to include all duties as deputy returning officer and all expenses not not exceeding ..	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	10	0	1	0	0
15. For the clerk at at polling station to include all expenses not exceeding ..	1	0	0	0	15	0	0	12	6	0	10	0

16. For each person employed in counting votes, to include all expenses, not exceeding :—

	£	s.	d.
In urban parishes	0	10	0
In rural parishes	0	5	0

Sums in addition to the maximum amount specified in (1) and (5) above may be allowed to the returning officer by the local authority, if they are satisfied that there were exceptional circumstances which rendered necessary the incurring of an expense in excess of the amount specified.

Under 14 and 15 an additional allowance of 10s. shall be given for each night necessarily spent away from home.

In determining under 14 the charge for any presiding officer, regard should be had as to whether he acted as deputy returning officer in the counting of the votes, and whether the poll has been taken with respect to one election or to more than one.

The employment of a second clerk at a polling station with the remuneration specified in 15 may be authorised by the local authority, if the services of such clerk are considered by them to be requisite.

The above-mentioned allowances are to include the remuneration for all elections held on the same day.

In a rural parish where there is only one contested election and the number of parochial electors does not exceed 200, the returning officer or his deputy will be allowed one counting clerk, and for every 200 additional parochial electors an additional counting clerk. Where there are contests for both district and parish councillors, additional counting clerks may be employed, provided that in no case shall the number exceed four.

In an urban parish, the number of counting clerks charged for shall in no case exceed one for every 500 parochial electors.

In the case of county council elections the cost properly incurred in holding elections is paid out of the county fund, and in the case of a municipal election out of the borough fund. There is a different scale for the London County Council, and this is given under that subsection of this chapter.

The returning officer must within 21 days after the return of councillors deliver a detailed account of his charges to the county council, stating the amount he claims, and with it a notice where the vouchers relating to the amount may be seen and copies taken. All claims against the returning officer for work done in connection with the election must be forwarded to him within 14 days of the return of councillors.

Preparations for the Poll.

A polling station must be provided in each polling district, and notice as to the situation, division and allotment of polling places, and the registered number of persons entitled to vote thereat must be given at least four days before the election. Ballot papers are to be provided by the returning officer and must be of two kinds; the ordinary ballot papers, and sufficient number of others of different colour for tendered votes. The ballot paper described in the chapter of this book entitled " The Returning Officer and his staff," and which is the ballot paper prescribed by the Ballot Act, is to be used. Ballot boxes used will be those stored by the local authorities from one election to another.

Polling Districts and Stations.

The returning officer may use, free of charge, schools and public rooms receiving a grant from parliament for taking the poll, and they should be fitted up in the manner described in the chapter on "The Returning Officer and his Staff."

The Poll.

A poll for the election must, as far as circumstances permit, be conducted as at an election for a member of parliament, and the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872, are to apply at the poll at all local elections with certain exceptions. The election, therefore, is by ballot. The poll is to commence at 8.0 a.m. and keep open till 8.0 p.m.

A person is entitled to demand and receive a ballot paper and to vote if he is on the register. He may vote for any number of candidates not exceeding the number of vacancies. A person whose name is on the register for more than one ward cannot vote twice. Police constables and others on duty in the employ of the returning officer are entitled to vote in the manner set out in the chapter on "The Returning Officer and his Staff" of this book. Under the Acts of 1856 and 1859 members of the police force were disqualified from voting at local elections. Under the Police Disabilities Act, 1887, a policeman is accorded facilities for voting at all municipal and other elections, including parliamentary, and a constable on duty is entitled to vote at any station. Instructions for the guidance of voters are fully dealt with in the same chapter, but for the guidance of presiding officers at municipal and county council elections some reference to them is made below.

Presiding Officer.

The presiding officer must be at his appointed station before the opening of the poll, and must see that the name of the polling station and directions to voters are posted thereon, and he must see that the directions are displayed inside each voting compartment and that a pencil for marking the ballot papers is provided. He must make a declaration of secrecy; so also must his clerk and the personation agent of the candidates. They are charged with maintaining the secrecy of the ballot. The presiding officer is liable for any wilful act or omission in contravention of the Ballot Act. Before the opening of the poll he must show those present that the ballot box is empty, and then lock it and seal it. When a voter enters the polling station and demands a ballot paper he must ascertain that the voter is on the register, call out the voter's number, mark the voter's number on the counterfoil of the ballot paper, stamp same with the official mark so that it appears on both sides, and mark the register to denote that the voter has received a ballot paper. He must in certain cases put the statutory questions to a voter (as to which see the chapter on "The Returning Officer and his Staff"). He must give another ballot paper in the case of a spoiled one, give a tendered ballot paper to any person who applies to vote after another has voted in his name and who has answered the statutory questions, mark such tendered ballot papers on the back with the name and number of the voter, and enter same on the tendered voters' list, putting these ballot papers in a separate packet and not in the ballot box. He must see that every ballot paper bears the official ballot mark before the voter puts it in the box. He must mark a ballot paper for a voter who is blind or infirm, or who makes a declaration of inability to read, or for a Jew who objects to mark a ballot paper on Saturday. Such ballot papers must be put in the ballot box by the presiding officer, and the name and number of the voter, and the reason for so marking the ballot paper entered on a list entitled " List of Votes marked by the Presiding Officer." He must detect personation and give guilty persons into custody. Above all he must keep order at his polling station, and close it at the proper time by Greenwich time, and not by any local time. At the close of the poll he must seal the ballot box so as to prevent the introduction of further papers. He must make up in separate packets ballot papers and documents as set forth below and deliver them to the returning officer.

The unused and spoilt ballot papers.
The tendered ballot papers.
The marked copies of the register and the counterfoils of the ballot papers.
The tendered votes list and the list of votes marked by the presiding officer under the heads
" Physical incapacity "
" Jews "
" Unable to read,"
together with a summary of the list so marked, and the declarations of inability to read.

The above packets together with every ballot box in use, unopened but with the key attached, must be delivered to the returning officer, and with them a " ballot paper account," showing the number of ballot papers entrusted to the presiding officer and accounting for their disposal.

Agents.

Agents are appointed by candidates to attend inside polling stations for the purpose of detecting personation. The appointment must be made in writing in the form given under the sub-heading of this chapter headed " Nominations." The appointment must be transmitted to the returning officer at least one clear day before the opening of the poll. Not more than one polling agent may be employed for payment at each polling station. No appointment of a paid election agent as such is authorised at a county council or municipal election, but if an agent is appointed and notice thereof is given to the returning officer one clear day before polling day, then the provisions of the Ballot Act of 1872, with respect to agents of candidates, are, as far as regards that agent, to apply; that is to say, candidates may appoint agents to attend the counting of votes, and the name and address of every agent so appointed must be transmitted to the returning officer as aforesaid. It is not compulsory to appoint counting or polling agents. The candidate himself may undertake these duties or assist his agents. An agent to a candidate may be appointed, but with the exception of polling agents no payment must be made to the agent. All agents appointed whether they attend at the polling stations or the counting of votes must make the statutory declaration of secrecy.

Polling Agents.

The duties of polling agent at polling stations consist of detecting personation. A person is deemed guilty of personation if he applies for a ballot paper in the name of some other person, whether that be the name of a person living or dead or a fictitious person, or who, having voted once at such election, applies at the same election for a ballot paper in his own name. The presiding officer must order the arrest of any person whom the polling agent accuses of personation if the polling agent undertakes to prove his statement. The vote of such person cannot be rejected if he persists in voting. The votes of such a person are to be marked "protested against for personation," and the ballot paper should be put amongst legal votes and not amongst the tendered votes in making up the packets for delivery to the returning officer at the close of the poll. The polling agent is liable for damages if he accuses falsely.

The Count.

At the close of the poll the ballot boxes having been sealed by the presiding officer are taken by him to the returning officer at the place where the count is to take place. The returning officer in the presence of the candidates' agents, if any, and the candidates themselves, proceeds to open the ballot boxes and ascertain the result of the poll by counting the votes given for each candidate. He thereupon declares the result of the election accordingly. At county council elections the returning officer is empowered to use schools and public rooms free for the counting of votes. Every officer, clerk and agent attending the counting of votes must aid in the secrecy of the ballot. He must not communicate any information obtained at the count. The procedure of counting is on exactly the same lines as that for a parliamentary election, and the subject is very fully dealt with in the chapter "The Returning Officer and his Staff," and it is, therefore, not necessary to repeat it here.

Casting Vote.

If the votes are equal, the returning officer, whether qualified to vote or not in the first instance, may give an additional vote by word of mouth or in writing. On the conclusion of the count a declaration must be made forthwith by declaring the candidate elected who has received the majority of votes. The returning officer must as soon as possible after the election give public notice of the names of the candidates elected. The notice must contain the number of votes given for the successful candidates and also for the unsuccessful ones. In county council elections the returning officer is to return the names of the persons elected to the clerk of the council.

After the Declaration.

On the completion of the counting the returning officer must seal up in separate packets

(1) The counted ballot papers.
(2) The rejected ballot papers.

He must then in the presence of agents (if any) verify the ballot paper accounts by comparing them with the number in the ballot box which he has already recorded, the unused and spoilt ballot papers and the list of tendered votes furnished by each presiding officer, and must re-seal each packet after such examination, reporting to the town clerk the result, and allowing the agents to take a copy of such report if they wish. He must not open the packets of tendered ballot papers or the marked copy of the register of the voters or the counterfoils of the ballot papers. He must report to the town clerk the number of rejected ballot papers and the heads of objections. The returning officer should thereupon proceed to deliver to the town clerk the packets of ballot papers with the reports mentioned above, viz., the ballot paper accounts, the tendered voters' list, the list of votes marked by the presiding officer, the statements relating thereto, and the declaration of inability to read, the packets of counterfoils, and marked copies of registers, endorsing on each packet a description of the contents and the date of the election to which it relates and the name of the borough for which the election was held. These documents remain in the custody of the town clerk for a year, and are then destroyed unless the election has been questioned by the Courts. No person is allowed to inspect any rejected ballot paper except under the order of the Court. With the exception of the papers mentioned above, that is, the rejected ballot papers, the counted ballot papers and the counterfoils, all the documents forwarded by the returning officer to the town clerk are open to public inspection, and copies or extracts therefrom may be taken.

Returning Officer's Charges.

At county council elections the returning officer must within 21 days after the day of declaration of the poll transmit to the county council the detailed account of all charges claimed by him in respect of the election.

The cost of elections of county councillors must not exceed that allowed under the Local Government Act, 1894, or such scale as the county council may from time to time frame. (For the existing scale, see page 357.) All claims against a returning officer for work done for an election must be sent in in detail within 14 days of the declaration of the poll.

Candidate's Expenses.

The maximum amount which a candidate is allowed to spend is £25 where the number of votes does not exceed 500, and where this number is exceeded an additional 2d. for every voter in excess of 500 is allowed. In the case of joint candidates the amount of each is reduced by one-fourth, and if there are more than two joint candidates by one-third. The candidate may hire committee rooms for every 2,000 voters or part thereof. He may employ for payment one polling agent for each polling station, and one clerk or messenger for every 1,000 voters with a right to a minimum of two clerks or messengers. There appears to be no limit to the amount of voluntary assistance which can be rendered to a candidate. The names and addresses of polling and counting agents must be transmitted to the returning officer at least one clear day before the opening of the poll. All claims against the candidate must be sent into the candidate within 14 days after the election, or they will be barred and cannot be paid. All claims must be paid by the candidate within 21 days. Every agent employed by the candidate must send in, in writing, a list of his expenses within 23 days, under a penalty of £50. The candidate himself must send in a complete list of his election expenses to the town clerk within 28 days of the election. All bills and receipts for sums of 20s. or over must accompany the statement together with a declaration in the following form :—

FORM OF DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE AS TO EXPENSES.

I,   , having been a candidate at the election of councillor for the borough (or ward) of   , on the   day of   (and my agents) do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare that I have paid £   for my expenses at the said election, and that except as aforesaid, I have not, and to the best of my knowledge and belief no person, nor any club, society or association, has on my behalf, made any payment, or given, promised, or offered any reward, office, employment, or valuable consideration, or incurred any liability on account of or in respect of the conduct or management of the said election.

And I further solemnly and sincerely declare that, except as aforesaid, no money, security, or equivalent for money has, to my knowledge or belief been paid, advanced, given or deposited by anyone to or in the hands of myself or any other person, for the purpose of defraying any expenses incurred on my behalf on account of or in respect of the conduct and management of the said election.

And I further solemnly and sincerely declare that I will not at any time make or be a party to making or giving of any payment, reward, office, employment or valuable consideration for the purpose of defraying any such expense as last mentioned, or provide or be a party to the providing of any money, security, or equivalent for money for the purpose of defraying any such expense.

Signature of Declarant.

Signed and declared by the above named
declarant on the   day of
before me
Signed   *Justice of the Peace for*

Corrupt and Illegal Practices.

No payment or contract for payment shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a county council election, be made on account of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, whether for the hiring of horses or carriages, or for railway fares or otherwise; or to an elector on account of the use of any house, land, building, or premises for the exhibition of any address, bill, or notice; or on account of any committee room in excess of the number allowed, *i.e.*, if the election is for a borough, one committee room for the borough, and if the election is for a ward one committee room for the ward, and if the number of electors in such borough or ward exceeds two thousand, one additional committee room for every two thousand electors and incomplete part of two thousand electors, over and above the said two thousand.

Subject to such exception as may be allowed, if any payment or contract for payment is knowingly made in contravention of Section 4 (2) Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1894, either before, during, or after a municipal election, the person making such payment or contract shall be guilty of an illegal practice, and any person receiving such payment or being a party to any such contract, knowing same to be in contravention of this Act, shall also be guilty of an illegal practice.

Where it is the ordinary business of an elector as an advertising agent to exhibit for payment bills and advertisements, a payment to or contract with such elector, if made in the ordinary course of business, shall not be deemed to be an illegal practice within the meaning of this section.

Subject to such exception as may be allowed in pursuance of this Act, no sum shall be paid and no expense shall be incurred by or on behalf of a candidate at an election, whether before, during, or after an election, on account of or in respect of the conduct or management of such election, save that in the case of an election of a councillor a sum may be paid and expenses incurred not in excess of the maximum amount following:—

> The sum of twenty-five pounds, and, if the number of electors in the borough or wards exceed five hundred, an additional amount of threepence for each elector above the first five hundred electors.

Any candidate or agent of a candidate or person who knowingly acts in contravention of this section shall be guilty of an illegal practice.

Where there are two or more joint candidates at an election the maximum amount of expenses shall, for each of such joint candidates, be reduced by one-fourth, or if there are more than two joint candidates, by one-third.

Where two or more candidates at the election, by themselves or any agent or agents, hire or use the same committee rooms for such election, or employ or use the services of the same clerks, messengers, or polling agent at such election, or publish a joint address or joint circular or notice at such election, those candidates shall be deemed for the purpose of this enactment to be joint candidates at such election. Provided that the employment and use of the same committee room, clerk, messenger, or polling agent, if accidental or casual, or of a trivial and unimportant character, shall not be deemed of itself to constitute persons joint candidates.

Nothing in this enactment shall prevent candidates from ceasing to be joint candidates.

Where any excess of expenses above the maximum allowed for one or two or more joint candidates has arisen owing to his having ceased to be a joint candidate, or to his having become a joint candidate after having begun to conduct his election as a separate candidate, and such ceasing or beginning was in good faith, and such excess is not more than under the circumstances is reasonable, and the total expenses of such candidate do not exceed the maximum amount allowed for a separate candidate, such excess shall be deemed to have arisen from a reasonable cause within the meaning of the enactments respecting the allowance by the High Court or election court of an exception from the provisions of this Act which would otherwise make an act an illegal practice, and the candidate may be relieved accordingly from the consequences of having incurred such excess of expenses.

No person shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a county council election, be engaged or employed for payment or promise of payment for any purpose or in any capacity whatever, except as follows:—A number of persons may be employed, not exceeding two for a borough or ward, and if the number of electors in such borough or ward exceeds two thousand, one additional person may be employed for every thousand electors and incomplete part of a thousand electors over and above the said two thousand, and such persons may be employed as clerks and messengers, or in either capacity; and one polling agent may be employed in each polling station. It is provided that Section 13 (1) of the Act shall not apply to any engagement or employment for carrying into effect a contract *bona fide* made with any person in ordinary course of business.

Any premises, which are licensed for the sale of any intoxicating liquor for consumption on or off the premises, or on which refreshment of any kind (whether food or drink) is ordinarily sold for consumption on the premises, or any premises where any intoxicating liquor is supplied to members of a club, society, or association, or any part of any such premises, shall not, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a municipal election, be used either as a committee room or for holding a meeting, and if any person hires or uses any such premises or any part thereof in contravention of this section he shall be guilty of illegal hiring, and the person letting or permitting the use of such premises or part thereof, if he knew it was intended to use the same in contravention of Section 16 of the Act, shall also be guilty of illegal hiring.

It is provided that nothing in this section shall apply to any part of such premises which is ordinarily let for the purpose of chambers or offices or the holding of public meetings or of arbitrations, if such part has a separate entrance and no direct communication with any part of the premises on which any intoxicating liquor or refreshment is sold or supplied as aforesaid.

Miscellaneous.

Lawful expenses have been defined to include expenses incurred " on account of or in respect to the conduct and management of the election," and cover polling agents, clerks, and messengers to the number given above. It would also cover the employment of billposters to post up bills, and printers to print addresses, placards, etc. The employment of paid canvassers is illegal, nor must any person be employed to solicit votes, although there is no objection to persons enquiring as to the politics of voters. Expenses incurred in holding meetings are legal. No sum must be paid and no expenses incurred by or on behalf of a candidate, whether before or during or after the election, or in respect of the conduct or management of such election, in excess of the maximum stated above. Generally speaking election expenses end at the election, but they may be incurred in connection with the paying of bills and the lodgment of the return. It is advisable for all candidates to keep a record of their expenditure, a list of the persons employed at the election, and such list should not be destroyed until a reasonable time after the time for the lodging of a petition. Payment made after the legal time renders a candidate liable to conviction for an illegal practice (see Chapter Seventeen on "Corrupt and Illegal Practices"). The return and declaration must be sent in although no expenses have been incurred by the candidate in the election. If a candidate fails to make a return and declaration he is guilty of an illegal practice. If he makes a false return he is guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury. The returns and declarations of expenses are to be kept by the town clerk for twelve months after he has received them, and they are open to inspection by any person on payment of 1s., and copies may be had at the rate of 2d. for a folio of 72 words. At the end of twelve months the documents may be destroyed, or, if the candidate desires, they may be handed to him.

2. URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS.

The Local Government Act of 1894 created the Urban and Rural District Councils out of the old "sanitary authorities." The Act conferred new powers, transferred old ones, and almost eliminated overlapping in the administration of local affairs. The main function of these councils is the administration of public health, education, of supplying water, etc. The council has its own medical officer of health. It has powers and duties as to highways, over light railways, on allotments, etc. It can make by-laws relative to public health, new street construction, buildings, and housing schemes. It levies general district rates, has borrowing powers. It may make building regulations, can establish and manage local technical and art schools, museums, libraries, etc., and regulate markets and fairs. It can construct light railways and in special cases run omnibuses. An urban district council is a corporate body, the members of which are chosen by the local government electors. One-third or the whole of the council retire every year. A rural district council possesses all the powers and functions of an urban district council, and in addition rural district councillors act as guardians. Rural district councillors are chosen by the local government electors, and one-third or the whole retire every three years. The chairman in each case is chosen by the councillors.

Metropolitan boroughs are treated in a separate subsection of this chapter.

Qualifications.

The qualifications for being elected as a councillor to an urban district council, where the urban district council is not in a borough, are either being a parochial elector of a parish within the district or having during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election resided in the district. No person shall be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected councillors. The parochial electors of the district shall be the electors of councillors of the district, and, if the district is divided into wards, the electors of the councillors for each ward shall be such of the parochial electors as are registered in respect of qualifications within the ward.

Franchise Qualifications.

The franchise qualification for electors voting is the same as set out in this chapter on "Municipal and County Council Elections." The registers upon which local elections are held show in Division I, persons entitled to vote as parliamentary and local government electors, Division 2, those entitled to vote as parliamentary but not as local government electors, and in Division 3 those entitled to vote in local government elections only. There is also a provision for marking the register in the case of local government electors showing those not entitled to vote for all local government electoral areas within the registration unit. This provision secures that no person can vote in the same constituency in the case of a local government election in respect of more than one qualification (*a*) in the same borough for the purpose of borough council elections, (*b*) in the same electoral division or ward for the purpose of county council, metropolitan borough council, and urban district council elections, or (*c*) in the same parish or ward of a parish for the purpose of rural district council, guardians, or parish council elections. The elector may, however, choose which qualification he prefers to be registered for. He may not be registered both as a resident and as a business occupier in the same constituency.

Under the Ballot Act the expression "register of voters" means the register of parochial electors. The returning officer must provide true copies of such register at each polling station.

Disqualifications.

Certain disqualifications are imposed by the Local Government Act, 1894, upon persons from being elected as chairman or member of an urban district council or rural district council—other than a council of a borough. Such persons as infants, aliens, persons who within five years before their election have been convicted of any crime, sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour without the option of a fine, or to any greater punishment and have not received a free pardon, are disqualified. So also are adjudicated bankrupts or those who have made a composition or arrangement with their creditors. The bankruptcy disqualification ceases when the adjudication is annulled or a discharge is obtained, with a certificate that the bankruptcy was caused by misfortune without misconduct. In the case of composition or arrangement, disqualification disappears on the payment of the debts in full. An undischarged bankrupt can be elected to an urban, rural, or parish council, or a board of guardians, if his adjudication was more than five years previous to his election. A person who holds any paid office under the Council or Board of Guardians is also disqualified. Any person who is concerned in any bargain with a council or who participates in the profit of any such bargain or contract or of any work done under the authority of the council is also disqualified.

An officer or soldier of the auxiliary forces or of the reserve forces on active service or on service beyond the seas, shall not by reason only of his absence on that service be disqualified or vacate his office or incur any fine or other liability. Certain exemptions are stipulated, viz. :—

> A person is not disqualified by reason of being interested :
>
> (*a*) In the sale or lease of any lands or in any loan of money to the council or board or in any contract with the council for the supply from land, of which he is the owner or occupier, of stone, gravel, or other any materials for making or repairing highways or bridges, or in the transport of materials for the repair of roads or bridges in his own immediate neighbourhood ; or
>
> (*b*) In any newspaper in which any advertisement relating to the affairs of the council or board is inserted ; or
>
> (*c*) In any contract with the council or board as a shareholder in any joint stock company ; but he shall not vote at any meeting of the council or board on any question in which such company are interested, except that in the case of a water company or other company established for the carrying on of works of a like public nature, this prohibition may be dispensed with by the county council.

A member becoming disqualified ceases to be a member.

Vacancies.

The term of office of rural and urban district councillors is three years, and one-third of them go out of office on the 15th April in each year, *i.e.*, those councillors who have been in office the longest without being re-elected.

Casual vacancies occur through death, non-acceptance of office, resignation (in the case of a rural district council for any reasonable cause), but in the case of an urban district council upon payment of a fine, absence from meetings for more than six months consecutively except in the case of illness or some reason approved by the council. The absence is reckoned from the first meeting from which the member is absent. In the case of a rural district council a vacancy occurs on the election of a councillor as chairman. Vacancies also occur through disqualification, and the office being declared vacant (as to declaration of vacancy, see under the "Municipal and County Councils" section of this chapter). Vacancies also occur through an order of the county council directing a new election to be held where any difficulty arises as respects an election, *i.e.*, if the election is held to be defective, or the council not properly constituted, or upon a judgment of the Court upon a petition. A vacancy may also occur in the office of chairman if he dies, resigns, or becomes incapable of acting.

Election of Chairman.

The chairman is appointed at the annual meeting of the council, which must be held as soon as convenient after the 15th April. The meeting must not be held in licensed premises except where no other suitable room is available. A chairman may be elected from outside the councillors.

Election of Councillors.

In the case of a casual vacancy the election must be held within one month after notice in writing of the vacancy, given to the chairman of the council or to the clerk by two councillors. The day of the election is fixed by the clerk. No election is to be held to fill a casual vacancy occurring within six months before the ordinary day of retirement of the councillor.

The election to fill ordinary vacancies is held every year on the first Monday in April, or, if that is Easter Monday, the last Monday in March, or in either case, such other day not being earlier than the preceding Saturday, or later than the following Wednesday, as may for special reasons be fixed by the county council. The day of election of urban district councillors and guardians is to be the same. The day of election of rural district councillors, and the day of election of parish councillors is to be the same.

Notice of Election and Poll.

In the case of both urban district council and rural district council the notice of election must be given not later than the second Friday in March, or, if the first Monday in April is Easter Monday, the first Friday in March. In the case of a poll the returning officer must give at least five clear days public notice of the day of poll by posting the notice on or near the door of each church and chapel in the electoral district. The form of notice of poll in the case of urban district councillors is as follows :—

FORM OF NOTICE OF POLL TO BE USED IN THE ELECTION OF URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILLORS ONLY.

Urban District of

Election of urban district councillors for the above district (or for the   ward of the above district) in the year 19   .

Notice is hereby given

1. That a poll for the election of urban district councillors for the above-named district (or ward) will be held on   the   day of   19   . between the hours of   and   .

2. That the number of urban district councillors to be elected for the district (or ward) is

3. That the names in alphabetical order, places of abode, and descriptions of candidates for election, and the names of their prospective proposers and seconders are as follows :—

Names of Candidates (surname first).	Place of abode.	Description.	Names of Proposer (surname first).	Names of Seconder (surname first).
	*			

4. (1) That each elector must vote in the polling district in which the property of which he votes is situate, and if it is situate in more than one polling district he may vote in any one (but in one only) of such polling districts.

(2) The polling districts are as follows :—

5. The situation and allotment of the polling places and stations and the descriptions of the person entitled to vote thereat are as follows :—

6. The poll will be taken by ballot, and the colour of the ordinary ballot paper used in the election will be

Dated this day of 19 .

Signed

(*Returning Officer*).

(*Here insert address of office for purpose of election.*)

NOTES.—Under the column headed "names of candidates" particulars should be inserted as to each candidate for the district or ward whose nomination is valid and who has not withdrawn his candidature. If the district or ward is not divided into polling districts par. 4 above should be omitted. If only one polling station or place is used adapt par. 5 accordingly. At the end of par. 6 insert colour of ballot paper.

FORM OF NOTICE OF POLL TO BE USED WHEN THE POLLS FOR THE ELECTION OF URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILLORS AND GUARDIANS ARE TAKEN TOGETHER.

Election of urban district councillors and guardians for the urban district of (or for the

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* *See note on page* 353 *as to* " *abode.*"

ward of the urban district of)
and for the parish of (or for the ward
of the parish of , or for the united parishes
of) in the year 19 .

Notice is hereby given

1. That polls for the election of urban district councillors and of guardians for the above-named district (or ward) and parish (or ward or united parishes) will be held on the day of , 19 , between the hours of and .

2. That the number of urban district councillors to be elected for the district (or ward) is

3. That the number of guardians to be elected for the parish (or ward) is

4. That the names in alphabetical order, places of abode, and descriptions of the candidates for election, and the names of their respective proposers and seconders are as follows :—

The form of notices in the case of rural district and parish councillors is as is given for urban district councillors and guardians, suitably adapted to suit the election.

NOTES.—Under the column headed names of candidates particulars should be inserted as to each candidate for the district or ward whose nomination is valid and who has not withdrawn his candidature. If the district or ward is not divided into polling districts par. 5 (page 380) should be omitted. If only one polling station or place is used adapt par. 6 accordingly. In par. 7 insert colour of respective ballot papers.

Nominations.

The returning officer must provide nomination papers free. Each candidate for election must be nominated in writing, and the paper must state the name of the electoral area for which the candidate is nominated, the surname and other names in full of the candidate, his place of abode, and description, and whether he is qualified. The paper must be signed by two parochial electors of the area as proposer and seconder, together with their respective places of abode. This is sufficient as the names of eight assentors are not required as in the case of a municipal or county council election. The form of nomination paper for use in the case of urban and district rural councils is as follows :—

Urban District Council of

Election of urban district councillors for the above district (or for the ward of the above district) in the year 19 .

We, the undersigned, being respectively parochial electors of the said district (or ward) do hereby nominate the undermentioned person as a candidate at the said election.

Names of Candidate.		Place of abode. (3)	Description. (4)	How qualified. (5)
Surname (1)	Other names in full. (2)			
		*		

Signature of Proposer ....

Place of abode ....

Signature of Seconder ....

Place of abode ....

Instructions for filling up the nomination paper and which form part of the paper are as follows :—

(1) The surname of only one candidate for election must be inserted in column 1.

(2) The other names of the candidate must be inserted in full in column 2.

(3) Insert in column 3 the place of abode of the candidate.

(4) In column 4 state the occupation, if any, of the candidate. If the candidate has no occupation, insert some such description as "gentleman," or "married woman," or "spinster," or "widow," as the case may be.

**See note on page* 353 *as to* "*abode*".

(5) If the candidate is a parochial elector of some parish within the district (that is, if his or her name is registered in the register of parochial electors of such parish) insert in column 5, " Parochial elector of parish of   ." If the candidate is not a parochial elector of some parish in the district, but he or she has, during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election, resided in the district, insert in column 5 " Residence." If the candidate has both these qualifications, it will be sufficient to insert in column 5 one of his or her qualifications, but both may be inserted.

(6) (1) The paper must be signed by two parochial electors of the district (or ward), and no more ; by one as proposer, and by the other as seconder. The places of abode of the proposer and seconder must also be inserted. Instead of signing, the proposer or seconder may affix his mark if it is witnessed by two parochial electors.

(2) A parochial elector must not sign more nomination papers than there are urban district councillors to be elected for the district (or ward), and he must not sign a nomination paper for the district (or ward) unless he is registered as a parochial elector in respect of a qualification therein. (Neither must he sign a nomination paper in more than one ward in the district.)

(7) Not later than   , the   day of   , 19   . I shall cause a copy of a statement containing the names, places of abode, and the descriptions of the persons nominated for the office of urban district councillor for the said district (or wards) and also containing a notice of my decision as regards each candidate as to whether he has been nominated by a valid nomination paper or not, to be (*suspended in the board room of the urban district council and another to be) affixed on the principal external gate or door of the offices of the urban district council.†

(8) Any candidate nominated for election may, not later than twelve o'clock at noon on   , the   day of   , 19   , withdraw his candidature by delivering or causing to be delivered at my office for the purposes of the election a notice in writing of such withdrawal signed by him.

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*If there is no such board room omit these words.

†If there are no such offices, substitute "some conspicuous place or places within the district or wards."

(9) If the number of candidates who are validly nominated for the district (or any ward), and whose candidature is not withdrawn, exceeds that of the persons to be elected, a poll will be taken on , the day of , 19 , of which due notice will be given.‡

Dated this day of , 19 .

Signed, *Returning Officer.*

Here insert address of office
for purpose of election.

Similar rules, suitably adapted to suit the case are printed on the back of the nomination paper for a rural district council election. There is no provision for objections to nominations as there is in the case of municipal and county council elections.

The nomination of a person absent from the United Kingdom shall be void, unless his written consent, given in one month before the day of his nomination in the presence of two witnesses, is produced at the time of his nomination.

Time of Nomination.

Nomination papers in the case of a contested election must be received by the returning officer not later than 12 noon on the day appointed by the returning officer.

A candidate may withdraw his nomination by notice in writing signed by himself to the returning officer not later than 12 noon on the day appointed by the returning officer for withdrawals.

Candidates' Agents.

The appointment of paid election agents is not authorised at a district council election; but if such appointment is made, and notice in writing of appointment is given to the returning officer one clear day before the polling day, then the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872, with respect to agents of candidates, shall, as far as regards that agent, apply in the case of that election.

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‡If the day of election is not the same for all the parishes, united parishes, and wards, the form should be adapted accordingly.

Notice of Nominations.

The returning officer must after receipt of nominations publish same by affixing a notice on the gate or door of the council offices. The form of statement as to persons nominated is as follows :—

Urban District of

The following is a statement of the persons nominated for election as urban district councillors for the above-named district (or for the several wards in the above mentioned district).

District (or wards) 1	Persons nominated.			Decision of Returning Officer that Candidate has not been nominated by a valid nomination paper. 5
	Names (surnames first). 2	Place of abode. 3	Description. 4	
		*		

The candidates opposite whose names no entry is made in column 5 have been validly nominated.

Dated this day of , 19 .

Signed

Here insert address of office for the purpose of election. *Returning Officer.*

Uncontested Elections.

If the number of persons validly nominated does not exceed the number of vacancies to be filled, the returning officer shall forthwith declare such persons elected by giving public notice in the following form :—

Urban District of
(ward of the above district).

Whereas the following candidates have been duly nominated as urban district councillors for the said district (or ward)

And whereas the number of those

(or And whereas the said (insert name or names) has (or have) since withdrawn his (or their) candidature (or if some other

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**See note on page* 353 *as to "abode."*

event has occurred causing a person to cease to be a candidate state what it is) and the number of the remaining candidates is (equal to or less than) the number of persons, namely to be elected as urban district councillors for the said district (or ward).

I do hereby give notice that a poll will not be taken and that the said (insert names) will be declared elected as urban district councillors for the said district (or ward)* and also that (insert names) retiring urban district councillors for the said district (or ward) will be declared to be deemed to be re-elected.

Dated this day of , 19 .

Signed

Returning Officer.

Notice and Taking of Poll.

If a poll has to be taken by reason of the fact that there are more nominations than vacancies, the returning officer must give at least five days clear notice of the day of election. If the polls are to be taken in the one area for both urban district councillors and members of board of guardians in the case of an urban district council area, and for both rural district councillors and parish councillors in the case of a rural district council area, the returning officer may, if he think fit, give one notice only of both polls. The form of notice in the case of urban district councillors and guardians is shewn above. In the case of rural district council and parish council elections the form of notice is the same as that for urban district council and guardians elections, suitably adapted to suit the circumstances of the election.

A poll for the election must as far as circumstances permit be conducted as at an election for a member of parliament, and the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872, with certain exceptions, are to apply at the poll at all local elections. The election, therefore, is by ballot.

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*If the number of candidates or remaining candidates is equal to the number to be elected, or if the election is a first election or is to fill a casual vacancy, omit from this point to the end of the sentence.

The poll is to be taken in precisely the same manner set out in the foregoing part of this chapter on "Municipal and County Council Elections."

Returning Officer.

The returning officer in the case of urban district council and guardians elections is the clerk to the council, and the returning officer in the case of rural district councils and parish councils is the clerk to the rural district council. The returning officer must appoint an office for the purpose of the election. He may appoint a deputy who shall have all the powers, duties and liabilities of the returning officer.

The following time table applies to both urban district council and rural district council elections :—

Times for the proceedings at the ordinary elections of Urban District Councillors in any year.		Times for the proceedings at elections to fill casual vacancies, if not held at the time of ordinary elections.
Proceeding.	Time.	Time.
1. Notice of election	Not later than the second Friday in March, or if the first Monday in April is Easter Monday, the first Friday in March.	1. Not later than fourteen days before the day of election.
2. Receipt of Nomination papers	Not later than 12 noon on the following Thursday	2. Not later than 12 noon on the fourth day after the day on which notice was given.
3. Sending in notice of decision as to validity of nomination papers	Not later than the following Friday.	3. Not later than the day after the last day for the receipt of nomination papers.

TIMES FOR THE PROCEEDINGS (*Continued*).

Proceeding.	Time.	Time.
4. Making out statement as to persons nominated	Not later than the following Saturday	4. Not later than the day after the last day for the receipt of nomination papers.
5. Withdrawal of candidates	Not later than 12 noon on the following Tuesday	5. Not later than 12 noon on the fourth day after last day for the receipt of nomination papers.
6. Notice of poll	Five clear days at least before day of election	6. Five clear days at least before day of election.
7. Day of election	The first Monday in April, or, if that is Easter Monday, the last Monday in March; or in either case, such day not being earlier than the preceding Saturday, or later than the following Wednesday, as may for special reasons be fixed by the County Council.	7. Such day as may be fixed by the clerk to the district council in pursuance of S. 66 of the Municipal Corporation Act, 1882, as altered and adapted by the fifth schedule to the Urban District Councillors Election Order, 1898, dated the 1st Jan., 1898.

Hours of Poll.

The hours during which the poll shall be open shall be such as are fixed by the county council by any general or special order and in any event the poll shall be open between the hours of six and eight in the evening. The hours during which the poll shall be open is to be the same for rural district councillors and parish councillors in the case of a rural district council election, and the same for urban district council and guardians in the case of an urban district council election.

Under the Acts of 1856 and 1859, members of the police force were disqualified from voting at local elections.

Under the Police Disabilities Act, 1887, a policeman is accorded facilities for voting at all municipal and other elections, including parliamentary, and a constable on duty is entitled to vote at any station.

What has been written under "Municipal and County Council Elections" in this chapter applies equally to urban district council and rural district council elections, as far as polling districts, polling stations, presiding officers, ballot papers, polling or personation agents, counting of votes, casting vote, declaration and publication of result of poll, etc., is concerned. A candidate in the case of urban district council and rural district council elections has only the right to be present at the counting of votes and *not* at the polling station during the taking of the poll.

Returning Officers' Expenses.

The returning officer's expenses for urban or rural district council elections must not exceed the scale fixed by the county council. The scale is set out in the general order, dated the 20th November, 1894, issued under the Local Government Act, 1894. The expenses are to be paid by the district council and charged to the parish in their accounts. The sum payable to the returning officer for his services and other expenses are to be paid by the council and charged in their accounts as general expenses. If a poll in the case of a rural district council and parish council election is taken at the same time, half of the joint expenses is to be deemed to have been incurred in the election of rural district councillors and half in the election of parish councillors. The returning officer's expenses for urban district council elections and the election of guardians outside London must not exceed the scale fixed by the county council, and are to be paid by the urban district council out of the fund or rate applicable to their general expenses. If a poll in the case of an urban district council and guardians election be taken at the same time, half of the joint expenses including the remuneration of any officers, shall be deemed to have been incurred for the election of urban district councillors and half in the election of guardians. The scale of expenses is given below:—

URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILLORS.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

	£ s. d.
In a parish within an urban district other than a borough for each 750 parochial electors, within the parish or ward for which the election is held, or fractional part of 750	2 0 0

UNCONTESTED ELECTIONS.

	£ s. d.
In a parish within an urban district other than a borough not divided into wards	1 0 0
In a parish within an urban district other than a borough divided into wards for each ward ..	0 10 0

RURAL DISTRICT AND PARISH COUNCILLORS

Contested Elections.	Where 10 Parishes or under For each	Where between 10 & 20 For each beyond 10	Where between 20 & 30 For each beyond 20	Where 30 and upwards For each beyond 30
For every parish for which an election is held	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
(*a*) Where the election is for either a rural district councillor or councillors only or for parish councillors only not exceeding ..	2 0 0	1 10 0	1 0 0	0 10 0
(*b*) Where the elections are for a rural district councillor or councillors and parish councillors on the same day, not exceeding ..	3 0 0	2 5 0	1 10 0	0 15 0

Additional payments where a parish is divided into wards :—

	£ s. d.
In case (*a*) for each ward	0 10 0
In case (*b*) for each ward	0 15 0

Uncontested Elections.	For each parish up to 10.	For each additional parish.
For every parish for which an election is held—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
(*a*) For a rural district councillor or councillors.	0 10 0	0 5 0
(*b*) For parish councillors	0 5 0	0 5 0

Candidate's Expenses.

No return of election expenses is to be made, nor is there any time limit for sending in or paying claims. There is no limit to the amount of expenses which may be incurred by a candidate, and candidates at these classes of elections can spend any amount of money provided such expenditure is legal.

Under the Municipal Electors (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act 1894, it is provided that where there are two or more joint candidates at an election the maximum amount of expenses shall, for each of such joint candidates, be reduced by one-fourth, or if there are more than two joint candidates, by one-third. Where two or more candidates at the election, by themselves or any agent or agents, hire or use the same committee rooms for such elections, or employ or use the services of the same clerks, messengers, or polling agent at such election, or publish a joint address or joint circular or notice at such election, those candidates shall be deemed for the purpose of this enactment to be joint candidates at such election. Provided that the employment and use of the same committee room, clerk, messenger, or polling agent, if accidental or casual, or of a trivial and unimportant character, shall not be deemed of itself to constitute persons joint candidates.

Nothing in this enactment shall prevent candidates from ceasing to be joint candidates.

Committee Rooms.

One committee room only is allowed to be hired for payment by a candidate. An additional committee room may be hired for payment if the number of electors is above 2,000. The use of public elementary schools as committee rooms is not in terms prohibited, but it is undesirable that they should be engaged for the purpose.

No person shall for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at an urban or rural district council election, be engaged or employed for payment or promise of payment for any purpose or in any capacity whatever, except as follows :—A number of persons may be employed, not exceeding two for a borough or ward, and if the number of electors in such borough or ward exceeds two thousand, one additional person may be employed for every thousand electors and incomplete part of a thousand electors over and above the said two thousand, and such persons may be employed as clerks, and messengers, or in either capacity ; and one polling agent may be employed in each polling station. Candidates who stand jointly are only allowed to hire for payment the number of committee rooms, and to employ the number of paid messengers or clerks allowed for a single candidate. It is provided that Section 13 (1) of the Act shall not apply to any engagement or employment for carrying into effect a contract bona fide made with any person in ordinary course of business.

Any premises, which are licensed for the sale of any intoxicating liquor for consumption on or off the premises, or in which refreshment of any kind (whether food or drink) is ordinarily sold for consumption on the premises, or any premises where any intoxicating liquor is supplied to members of a club, society or association, or any part of any such premises, shall not, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a municipal election, be used either as a committee room or for holding a meeting, and if any person hires or uses any such premises or any part thereof in contravention of this section he shall be guilty of illegal hiring, and the person letting or permitting the use of such premises or part thereof, if he knew it was intended to use the same in contravention of Section 16 of the Act, shall also be guilty of illegal hiring.

It is provided that nothing in this section shall apply to any part of such premises which is ordinarily let for the purpose of chambers or offices or the holding of public meetings or of arbitrations, if such part has a separate entrance and no direct communication with any part of the premises on which any intoxicating liquor or refreshments is sold or supplied as aforesaid.

Corrupt and Illegal Practices.

No payment or contract for payment shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at urban or rural district council elections, be made on account of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, whether for the hiring of horses or carriages, or for railway fares or otherwise; or to an elector on account of the use of any house, land, building or premises for the exhibition of any address, bill, or notice, or on account of the exhibition of any address, bill, or notice; or on account of any committee room in excess of the number allowed, *i.e.*, if the election is for a borough one committee room for the borough, and if the election is for a ward one committee room for the ward, and if the number of electors in such borough or ward exceeds two thousand, one additional committee room for every two thousand electors and incomplete part of two thousand electors, over and above the said two thousand.

Subject to such exception as may be allowed, if any payment or contract for payment is knowingly made in contravention of Section 4 (2) of the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1894, either before, during, or after a municipal election, the person making such payment or contract shall be guilty of an illegal practice, and any person receiving such payment or being a party to any such contract, knowing the same to be in contravention of this Act, shall also be guilty of an illegal practice.

Where it is the ordinary business of an elector as an advertising agent to exhibit for payment bills and advertisements, a payment to or contract with such elector, if made in the ordinary course of business, shall not be deemed to be an illegal practice within the meaning of this section.

Custody of Papers.

The same rules as to sealing up packets of ballot papers, etc., as apply to municipal and county council elections also apply to urban district council and rural district council elections. The returning officer must carefully preserve the packages for *six* months and not twelve, as in the case of municipal and county council election documents. The same rules as to inspection, copies, etc., apply.

(3) METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

Metropolitan borough councils cover the whole of the administrative county of London, exclusive of the City of London (*q.v.*). There are 28 boroughs with a council for each borough. Each council consists of a mayor, aldermen and councillors. The London Government Act, 1899, provided that no woman should be eligible for election to a borough council, but this has been repealed by the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919. The number of councillors, aldermen, and the boundaries of the wards are fixed by Order in Council. The Order assigns the number of councillors to each ward, the number being divisible by three—regard being paid to the rateable value as well as the population of the wards. The aldermen total one-sixth of the number of councillors but the total number of aldermen and councillors for each borough shall not exceed seventy.

Qualifications.

With certain exceptions the qualifications mentioned in the London Government Act, 1899, apply to metropolitan borough councils as regards qualifications. In the class of election now under review, however, clerks in Holy Orders and other ministers of religion are not disqualified from being elected aldermen and councillors of metropolitan borough councils. A peer owning property in the borough, or registered as a local government elector in respect of the ownership of property of whatsoever tenure situate in the borough, is qualified. Another qualification is that of a person who owns property held by freehold, copyhold, leasehold, or any other tenure within the local government electoral area. No value is placed upon the qualification. The provision is contained in Section 10 of the Representation of the People Act, 1918 and restores the ownership qualification which enabled the owner to become a member of a local government authority by reason of his being an elector qualified by ownership.

Franchise Qualifications.

The franchise qualification for a vote at metropolitan borough council elections is fully set out in the sections of this chapter dealing with "Municipal and County Council Elections," and also "Urban and Rural District Council Elections." Particular reference is given in the latter section to the provision for marking the electors register in the case of local government electors, showing those not entitled to vote at all local government elections and also the provision which secures that no person can vote in the same constituency in respect of more than one qualification at a local government election. Under the Ballot Act the expression "register of voters" means the list of parochial electors in a district not a municipal corporation; the returning officer must provide true copies of such register at each polling station. The chapter of this book on "Registration and the Registration Officer" will also prove of considerable guidance to those concerned in all kinds of local government elections.

Disqualifications.

Disqualifications are to be found in section 46 of the Local Government Act, 1894, and are expressly applied to the offices of mayor and aldermen of metropolitan boroughs by Section 2 (5) of the London Government Act, 1899, and apply to the office of councillor under the same sections of the above mentioned Acts. Briefly summarised they are as follows :—Infant or alien, conviction of any crime and sentenced to twelve months imprisonment with hard labour without the option of a fine, or to any greater punishment and has not received a free pardon ; adjudicated bankrupt, or made a composition or arrangement with his creditors within five years before the election ; holder of any paid office under the council. Exceptions to disqualifications under the above headings are provided under the Act of 1894, and these are set out in full in the "Urban and Rural Districts Councils" section of the chapter. Certain disqualifications may be set aside by the county council if they are of the opinion that the removal of the disqualification would be beneficial to the parish. Disqualification from bankruptcy, etc., ceases on annulment, etc. Absence as already defined is another disqualification. A person acting or voting on a metropolitan borough council when he is disqualified is liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £20.

An officer or soldier of the auxiliary forces or of the reserve forces on active service or on service beyond the seas, shall not by reason only of his absence on that service be disqualified or vacate his office or incur any fine or other liability.

Vacancies.

The ordinary day of election of the mayor or alderman of metropolitan borough council is the 9th November, or if that day is a Sunday the following day. The mayor goes out of office annually on the 9th November, and half the aldermen on the same day in every third year. (The expression "one-half" means those who have been longest in office without re-election.) The councillors' term of office is three years, and the whole of them go out of office on the 1st November in every third year.

Casual Vacancies.

Casual vacancies occur through the causes mentioned in the chapter on "Urban District Councils and Rural District Council Elections" (q.v.). An election to fill a casual vacancy must be held within one month after the notice of vacancy, or in the case of resignation, disqualification, or absence, within one month of the office becoming vacant. Notice need not be given in the three cases mentioned above, because the council is aware of them: the day of election is fixed by the town clerk. No election is to be held to fill a casual vacancy occurring within six months before the ordinary day of retirement from the office within which the vacancy occurs.

Election of Mayor.

The election of mayor is the first business of a metropolitan borough council at its first meeting after the election. The mayor goes out of office on the 9th November annually. The method of election is fully set out in the subsection of this chapter entitled "Municipal and County Council Elections." Where a salary is attached to the office of mayor, a candidate for that office cannot vote for himself.

Election of Aldermen.

Aldermen of a metropolitan borough council are in the same position as those on a county council (q.v.) except that the ordinary day of election is 9th November.

Election of Councillors.

All that is written on the election of councillors to urban district councils in that section of this chapter applies to the election of councillors to metropolitan borough councils except as regards the date of election, which in the case of an ordinary election is to be the 1st day of November in every third year, when the whole of the councillors go out of office. The time table of proceedings at any election of a borough councillor or councillors is :—

Proceeding.	Time.
1. Notice of election	Not later than 14 clear days before the day of election.
2. Receipt of nomination papers	Not later than twelve o'clock noon on the tenth day before the day of election.
3. Sending notice of decision as to validity of nomination papers and making out statement as to persons nominated	Not later than the ninth day before the day of election.
4. Withdrawal of candidates	Not later than 12.0 o'clock at noon on the sixth day before the day of election.
5. Notice of poll	Two clear days at least before the day of election.

If the 1st of November falls on a Sunday the day of election is to be the following day.

Notice of Election.

The Returning Officer must prepare and publish notice of election in the following form :—

Borough of

Election of borough councillors for the several wards in the above named borough in the year 19 .

NOTICE is hereby given that—

1. The number of councillors to be elected for the said wards, at the said election, is as follows :—(*a*)

2. Each candidate for election as a councillor must be nominated in writing in the form prescribed by the Metropolitan Borough Councillors Election Order, 1903, or in a form to the like effect, and the nomination paper must be sent to me, so that it shall be received at (which is my office for the purpose of the election) not later than twelve o'clock at noon on the day of , 19 .

3. A parochial elector must not sign more nomination papers than there are councillors to be elected for the ward, and he must not sign a nomination paper for any ward unless he is entered on the register of parochial electors which will be in force on the day of election in respect of a qualification therein. Nor must he sign nomination papers for more than one ward in the borough.

4. Copies of the form of nomination paper may be obtained, free of charge, from me at the office named below.

5. Not later than the day of 19 . I shall cause a copy of a statement containing the names, places of abode, and descriptions of the persons nominated for the office of councillor for the said wards, and also containing a notice of my decision as regards each candidate as to whether he has been nominated by a valid nomination paper or not, to be affixed on or near to the principal external gate or door of the offices of the council of the borough.

6. Any candidate nominated for election may not later than twelve o'clock at noon on the day of , 19 , withdraw his candidature by delivering or causing to be delivered at my office for the purposes of the election a notice in writing of such withdrawal signed by him.

7. If the number of candidates who are validly nominated for any ward, and whose candidature is not withdrawn exceeds that of the persons to be elected, a poll will be taken on the day of , 19 . Due notice of the poll will be given.

Dated this day of , 19 .

Returning Officer.

Office for the purpose of election.

(*a*) Insert the names of the wards, with the number of persons to be elected for each. A tabular form may be used if preferred.

Nominations.

Nomination papers must be provided free of charge by the returning officer. Each candidate must be nominated in writing, and the paper must state the name of the ward for which he is nominated, the full names, abode and description of the candidate, and whether he is a qualified elector of some parish of the borough or has resided in the borough for the whole of twelve months preceding the election. The form must be signed by a proposer and seconder, both of whom must be local government electors of the ward. (No assentors to the nomination are required as is required in the case of municipal and county council elections.) A nomination paper must contain the name of one candidate only.

The nomination of a person absent from the United Kingdom shall be void, unless his written consent, given in one month before the day of his nomination in the presence of two witnesses is produced at the time of his nomination.

The form of nomination paper is given below.—

NOMINATION PAPER.

Borough of

Election of borough councillors for the ward of the above borough in the year 19 .

We, the undersigned, being respectively parochial electors of the said ward, do hereby nominate the under-mentioned person as a candidate for the office of councillor at the said election.

Names of Candidates.		Place of abode. 3	Description. 4	How qualified (specify qualification according to direction in Instruction 5)
Surname 1.	Other names in full 2.			
		*		

Signature of Proposer .... *Place of abode* ....

Signature of Seconder .... *Place of abode* ....

**See note on page 353 as to "abode."*

The following instructions, printed on the nomination paper, form part of the nomination paper itself :—

(1) The surname of only one candidate for election must be inserted in column 1.

(2) The other names of the candidate must be inserted in full in column 2.

(3) Insert in column 3 the place of abode of the candidate.

(4) In column 4 state the occupation, if any, of the candidate. If the candidate has no occupation, insert some such description as "gentleman."

(5) If the candidate is a parochial elector of some parish in the borough (that is, if his name is entered on the register of parochial electors of the parish which will be in force on the day of election) insert in column 5 "parochial elector." If the candidate is not a parochial elector of some parish in the borough, but he has, during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election, resided in some place or places which will on the day of election be included in the borough, insert in column 5 "residence." If the candidate has both these qualifications, it will be sufficient to insert in column 5 one of his qualifications, but both may be inserted.

(6) (1) The paper must be signed by two parochial electors of the ward (that is by persons whose names are entered on the register of parochial electors for the ward which will be in force on the day of election) and no more; by one as proposer, and by the other as seconder. The places of abode of the proposer and seconder must also be inserted. Instead of signing, the proposer or seconder may affix his or her mark if it is witnessed by two parochial electors of the borough.

(2) A parochial elector must not sign more nomination papers than there are councillors to be elected for the ward, and must not sign a nomination paper for the ward unless his or her name is entered on the register of parochial electors for the ward which will be in force on the day of election. Nor must they sign a nomination paper for more than one ward in the borough.

Time and Notice of Nomination.

Nomination papers must be sent to the returning officer so as to be received at his office not later than the time set out in the time table above. Papers received later are not valid. The returning officer must number the papers in the order in which they are received by him. The decision of the returning officer as to the validity of a nomination paper is final. In the case of an invalid nomination paper he should put a note on it stating the grounds of his decision and sign such note. Notice of the decision as to nomination papers must be sent to the candidate not later than the ninth day before the day of election, and not later than the same day the returning officer must publish a statement of persons nominated in the same form, with the necessary modifications, as used for urban district council elections, given on page 385.

Withdrawal.

Any candidate may withdraw his candidature by delivering or causing to be delivered to the office of the returning officer a notice of withdrawal in writing not later than the time mentioned in the time table above.

If the number of valid nominations does not exceed the number of vacancies, the returning officer shall give notice that no poll will be taken, and the candidates will be declared elected.

Notice and Taking of Poll.

If a poll is to be taken the returning officer must give, as soon as possible, notice of day of poll. This must be not less than two clear days before the day of election. The form of notice is given under "Urban District Councils," and this must be used with the necessary modifications.

A poll for the election must as far as circumstances permit be conducted as at an election for a member of parliament, and the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872, are to apply at the poll at all local elections with certain exceptions. The election, therefore, is by ballot.

Returning Officer.

The town clerk of the borough is to be the returning officer, or if for any reason he cannot act, the council may appoint some other person. The returning officer must appoint an office for the purpose of the election. The returning officer may appoint a deputy.

Hours of Poll.

The hours of poll are to be 8.0 a.m. to 8.0 p.m. Greenwich and not any local time is to be used.

Polling Districts and Stations.

The returning officer may, if he think fit, divide any ward in the borough into polling districts, but a separate list of electors for each district must be available. He is to determine the number and situation of polling places and stations. Licensed premises must not be used. Where the electors in any polling district (or ward) is not more than 700 only one polling station need be provided, and for each additional 700 electors or less he may provide another station. Polling places may be in schools receiving money provided by parliament or any room maintained out of the local rate. These can be used free. Several polling stations may be contained in one building. For further particulars as to fitting up, etc., of polling stations see chapter on "The Returning Officer and his staff." The subject of presiding officers, ballot papers, counting of votes, declaration and publication of result of poll, etc., is fully described in this chapter under "Municipal and County Council Elections."

Under the Acts of 1856 and 1859 members of the police force were disqualified from voting at local elections. Under the Police Disabilities Act, 1887, a policeman is accorded facilities for voting at all municipal and other elections, including parliamentary, and a constable on duty is entitled to vote at any station.

Polling or Personation Agents.

The appointment of paid election agents as such is not authorised at a Metropolitan Borough Council election; but if in the case of a municipal election an agent of a candidate is appointed, and notice in writing of the appointment is given to the returning officer one clear day before the polling day, then the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872, with respect to agents of candidates, shall, as far as regards that agent, apply in the case of that election.

Special provisions are made for the appointment of a number of candidates' agents at metropolitan borough council elections. If the number of candidates in any ward does not exceed three, each candidate may appoint one polling or personation agent at each polling station. If the number exceeds three but does not exceed twenty, three agents, or if the number exceeds twenty but does not exceed forty, four agents, if it exceeds forty but not sixty, six agents may be appointed to each polling station. Appointment of agents must be made in writing by the candidate and delivered to the returning officer at least two clear days before the opening of the poll. No candidate may sign more than one appointment of agent for any polling station. No person whether paid or unpaid may be appointed for the purposes of the election, *i.e.*, no appointment of election agent can be made as in the case of a parliamentary election.

Counting Agents.

Counting agents may be appointed by each candidate in the same manner as polling agents, but the number may be doubled. Every agent authorised to attend the polling stations or counting of votes must before the opening of the poll make the usual declaration of secrecy. There is no provision for the presence of candidates at the counting of votes unless the candidate himself undertake the duties which any agent of his, if appointed to attend the counting of votes, might have undertaken. He may, therefore, attend if he does not appoint an agent and take the place of such agent.

Casting Vote.

If at the count it is found that there is a tie, the returning officer or his deputy who counts the votes may, if he is an elector of the ward for which the poll is taken, give a casting vote in writing. If the returning officer or deputy who counts the votes is not an elector or is unwilling to vote, he shall determine by lot which of the candidates shall be elected.

Notice of Result.

It is the duty of the returning officer to declare the result, and a copy of the declaration is to be posted on the front of the building where the declaration is made. The form of declaration is the same as used in the case of urban district council elections suitably modified :—

DECLARATION OF RESULT OF POLL.

Urban district of

Election of urban district councillors for the above district (or for the   ward of the above district) in the year   .

I, the undersigned, being the returning officer (or deputy returning officer duly authorised in that behalf) at the poll for the election of urban district councillors for the said district (or ward) held on the   day of   , 19 .

do hereby give notice that the number of votes recorded for each candidate at the election is as follows :—

Names of Candidates.		Places of abode.	Number of Votes recorded.
Surname	Other names.		

And I do hereby declare that the said are duly elected urban district councillors for the said district (or ward).

Dated this day of , 19 .

Returning Officer.
(*or Deputy Returning Officer.*)

Notice of result of the election must be made out and displayed in the council offices. Public notice must also be given by posting same on or near the principal door of each church and chapel in the ward or borough. The notice must be in the following form :—

NOTICE OF RESULT OF ELECTIONS.

Borough of

Election of borough councillors for the above borough in the year 19 .

I, the undersigned, being the returning officer at the election of borough councillors for the borough, do hereby give notice that the candidates whose names are entered in column 6 of the statement hereunder opposite to the numbers entered in column 5 have been declared duly elected councillors for the wards opposite to the names of which in column 1 the names of such persons whose names are entered in the said column 6, or in column 7, and opposite to whose names no numbers are entered in column 5, where no polls have been taken, were duly elected, or are to be deemed to be re-elected, as councillors for the wards opposite to the names of which in column 1 the names of such persons are entered.

Names of Wards 1	Names of Candidates.		Places of abode 4	No. of votes re-corded 5	Names of candi-dates elected 6	Names of retiring Coun-cillors deemed to be re-elected 7
	Sur-names 2	Other names 3				

Dated this day of , 19 .

Returning Officer.

Returning Officer's Expenses.

The returning officer's expenses and any sum payable to him in respect of his services are to be defrayed by order of the council out of the general rate of the borough. The scale of expenses is very similar to that for London County Council elections (*q.v.*). In metropolitan borough council elections a deputy returning officer's fee, to include all expenses, is not to exceed £3 3s. 0d. For conveyance of ballot boxes to and from the polling stations the words " with a minimum of 2s. for each polling station " are added to item 12 of the London County Council scale. The " general fee for conducting the election, preparing and publishing all notices, preparing and supplying all nomination papers, etc., etc." (item 14) is altered in the metropolitan scale from " not exceeding £30, etc., etc." to " not exceeding £8 for each contested ward, and an additional £1 for every 500 registered electors or fraction thereof above 2,000 in every contested ward, *at the triennial elections of the whole council.*" At *casual* elections the fee is not exceeding £15 for one contested ward, with a further allowance of £5 for each other ward contested simultaneously. The additional fee of £25 payable to a deputy returning officer in a London County Council election is not allowed in the case of a metropolitan borough. In the case of an uncontested election the general fee is "not exceeding £5 for each uncontested ward."

Candidate's Expenses.

There is no limit to candidate's expenses, neither is there a limit of time for which claims may be sent in and paid, nor has any return or declaration as to expenses to be made. There can of course be no illegal payment within the meaning of the phrase "corrupt or illegal practice."

The provision contained in the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act 1894, that where there are two or more joint candidates at an election the maximum amount of expenses shall, for each of such joint candidates, be reduced by one-fourth, or if there are more than two joint candidates, by one-third, does not apply to Metropolitan Borough Council electors.

Where two or more candidates at the election, by themselves or any agent or agents, hire or use the same committee rooms for such election, or employ or use the services of the same clerks, messengers, or polling agent at such election, or publish a joint address or joint circular or notice at such election, those candidates shall be deemed for the purpose of this enactment to be joint candidates at such election: Provided that the employment and use of the same committee room, clerk, messenger, or polling agent, if accidental, or casual, or of a trivial and unimportant character, shall not be deemed of itself to constitute persons joint candidates.

Nothing in this Act prevents candidates from ceasing to be joint candidates.

Corrupt and Illegal Practices.

No payment or contract for payment shall for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a metropolitan borough council election, be made on account of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, whether for the hiring of horses or carriages, or for railway fares or otherwise; or to an elector on account of the use of any house, land, building or premises for the exhibition of any address, bill, or notice, or on account of the exhibition of any address, bill, or notice; or on account of any committee room in excess of the number allowed *i.e.*, if the election is for a borough, one committee room for the borough, and if the election is for a ward one committee room for the ward, and if the number of electors in such borough or ward exceeds two thousand, one additional committee room for every two thousand electors and incomplete part of two thousand electors, over and above the said two thousand.

Subject to such exception as may be allowed, if any payment or contract for payment is knowingly made in contravention of Section 4 (2) Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1894, either before, during, or after a municipal election, the person making such payment or contract shall be guilty of an illegal practice, and any person receiving such payment or being a party to any such contract, knowing the same to be in contravention of this Act, shall also be guilty of an illegal practice.

No person shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a metropolitan borough council election, be engaged or employed for payment or promise of payment for any purpose or in any capacity whatever, except as follows:—A number of persons may be employed, not exceeding two for a borough or ward, and if the number of electors in such borough or ward exceeds two thousand electors one additional person may be employed for every thousand electors and incomplete part of a thousand electors over and above the said two thousand, and such persons may be employed as clerks and messengers, or in either capacity; and one polling agent may be employed in each polling station. Candidates who stand jointly are only allowed to hire for payment the number of committee rooms, and employ the number of paid messengers or clerks, allowed for a single candidate. It is provided that Section 13 (1) of the Act shall not apply to any engagement or employment for carrying into effect a contract bona fide made with any person in ordinary course of business.

Any premises, which are licensed for the sale of any intoxicating liquor for consumption on or off the premises, or on which refreshment of any kind (whether food or drink) is ordinarily sold for consumption on the premises, or any premises where any intoxicating liquor is supplied to members of a club, society or association, or any part of any such premises, shall not, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a municipal election, be used either as a committee room or for holding a meeting, and if any person hires or uses any such premises or any part thereof in contravention of this section he shall be guilty of illegal hiring, and the person letting or permitting the use of such premises or part thereof, if he knew it was intended to use the same in contravention of Section 16 of the Act, shall also be guilty of illegal hiring.

It is provided that nothing in this section shall apply to any part of such premises which is ordinarily let for the purpose of chambers or offices or the holding of public meetings or of arbitrations, if such part has a separate entrance and no direct communication with any part of the premises on which any intoxicating liquor or refreshment is sold or supplied as aforesaid.

Where it is the ordinary business of an elector as an advertising agent to exhibit for payment bills and advertisements, a payment to or contract with such elector, if made in the ordinary course of business, shall not be deemed to be an illegal practice within the meaning of this section.

Committee Rooms.

One committee room only is allowed to be hired for payment by a candidate. An additional committee room may be hired for payment if the number of electors is above 2,000. The use of public elementary schools as committee rooms is not in terms prohibited, but it is undesirable that they should be engaged for the purpose.

(4) BOARD OF GUARDIANS ELECTIONS.

The country is divided into unions of parishes primarily for the administration of the poor law. The work of the guardians consists of granting relief, the management of the workhouse, casual ward and infirmaries, and in the education of pauper children. They authorise outdoor relief and generally look after the poor of the parish.

Guardians in urban districts hold office for three years and are elected by the local government electors of the parish or parishes included in the union. In rural districts guardians *as such* are not elected, but rural district councillors acting as guardians. The number of guardians varies, the number of each board being fixed by the Order creating the Union, and subject to alterations by the county council. In some cases guardians retire every three years, in other cases one-third only. Members of either sex can sit on boards of guardians. The chairman is elected annually by the guardians, who can co-opt two other local government electors. The guardians have power to borrow money for purposes connected with pauper lunatic asylums, schools, and workhouses, subject to the consent of the Ministry of Health. The accounts of guardians are audited by district auditors of the Local Government Board, who can surcharge improper expenditure as in the recent Poplar case.

There are over 600 boards of guardians in England and Wales charged with powers to administer the poor laws and the rules and orders of the Ministry of Health. The guardians are elected by the local government electors for three years, and retire by thirds annually on the 15th April, except when by special order of the Ministry of Health or by direction of the county council the whole body retires together every third year. In rural districts the district council acts as the board of guardians.

Rules have been made which govern the election of guardians *outside* London and also *in* London. The former provides that the election shall be held every year to fill ordinary and casual vacancies in urban parishes in England and Wales (Guardians (Outside London) Election Order, 1898). The day of election shall be not later than the second Friday in March, or if the first Monday in April is Easter Monday, the first Friday in March. A complete time table for the election at ordinary elections and elections to fill casual vacancies is given on pages 414 and 415.

TIME TABLE.

Proceeding.	Times for ordinary election of guardians in any year.	Times for first elections or casual vacancy elections.
1. Notice of election	Not later than the second Friday in March, or if the first Monday in April is Easter Monday, the first Friday in March	1. Not later than fourteen days before day of election.
2. Receipt of nomination papers	Not later than twelve noon on the following Thursday.	2. Not later than twelve noon on the fourth day after the day on which the notice of election was given.
3. Sending notice of decision as to validity of nomination papers	Not later than the following Friday.	3. Not later than the day after the last day for the receipt of nomination papers.
4. Making out statement as to persons nominated.	Not later than the following Saturday	4. Not later than the day after the last day for the receipt of nomination papers.
5. Withdrawal of candidates	Not later than twelve noon on the following Tuesday.	5. Not later than twelve noon on the fourth day after the last day for the receipt of nomination papers.
6. Notice of poll	Five clear days at least before day of election	6. Five clear days at least before day of election.

TIME TABLE (*Continued*).

Proceeding.	Times for ordinary election of guardians in any year.	Times for first elections or casual vacancy elections.
7. Day of election	The first Monday in April, or if that is Easter Monday the last Monday in March; or, in either case, such other day not being earlier than the preceding Saturday, or later than the following Wednesday, as may for special reasons be fixed by the county council (*d*).	7. In the case of first elections (*f*) :— Such day as may be fixed by the returning officer, but so that, subject to any special provision in the order assigning any additional guardians or constituting the new parish, as the case may be (*g*), *it shall not be later than six weeks from the date when such orders come into operation.* In the case of elections to fill vacancies :— Such day as may be fixed by the clerk to the guardians, in pursuance of Section 66 of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, as altered and adapted by the Fifth Schedule to this Order.

(*d*) The London Order has here the word " London."

(*f*) In the London Order these words are as follows :—" In the case of First Election of additional Guardians."

(*g*) In the London Order the words in *italics* are omitted.

Qualifications and Disqualifications.

There are now no *ex officio* or nominated guardians. A person to be qualified to be elected as a guardian must be a local government elector of some parish within the union or one who has during the whole of the preceding twelve months resided in the union. There is no sex disqualification for being elected as a guardian. Disqualifications and exceptions thereto are the same as for urban and rural district councils (see pp. 376 *et seq.*)

An officer or soldier of the auxiliary forces or of the reserve forces on active service beyond the seas, shall not by reason only of his absence on that service be disqualified or vacate his office or incur any fine or other liability.

Franchise Qualifications.

The local government electors of the parish are electors of guardians. If the parish is divided into wards the electors for such wards shall be the electors as are registered in respect of qualifications within the ward. Under the Ballot Act the expression " register of voters " means the register of parochial voters. The returning officer must provide true copies of such register at each polling station. An elector can give one vote and no more for each of any number of persons not exceeding the number to be elected.

Vacancies.

As stated above the term of office shall be for three years, and one-third go out of office on the 15th April in each year, subject to the fact that where the county council on the application of the board of guardians consider it expedient, the whole of the guardians retire together on the 15th April in every third year. The election to fill a casual vacancy is to be held within one month after notice of vacancy has been given in writing to the chairman of the guardians or to the clerk signed by two guardians. No election to fill a casual vacancy is to be held if the vacancy occurs within six months before the ordinary day of retirement from the office in which the vacancy occurs. Vacancies occur for the same reasons as set out in "Urban and Rural District Council Elections" (see page 377) except it should be here noted that a guardian can resign for any reasonable cause without paying fine if the Ministry of Health accepts the resignation.

Election of Chairman and Vice-Chairman.

The guardians may elect a chairman or vice-chairman or both, and not more than two other persons from outside their own body but from persons qualified to be elected as guardians. Chairman, vice-chairman, and guardians retiring shall be re-eligible.

Election of Guardians.

The time table of election for both ordinary elections and casual vacancies is given above.

The day of election of guardians in any urban district other than a borough shall be the same day as the election of urban district councillors.

The Returning Officer.

The returning officer is the clerk to the guardians, or a deputy appointed by the guardians. The deputy will have all the powers of and assume all the liabilities of the returning officer. The returning officer himself may appoint a deputy or deputies. An office for the purpose of the election shall be appointed by the returning officer and should be some place within the union or the neighbourhood thereof. If the polls of urban district councillors and guardians are to be taken the same day the returning officer for the election of urban district councillors shall be the deputy returning officer for the election of guardians.

Notice of Election and of Poll.

The returning officer must give notice of election not later than the prescribed date. The notice of election will be found under " Urban and Rural District Council Elections," which should be suitably amended to suit the election of guardians. In the same subsection of this chapter will be found the form of notice of election to be used when the polls for the election of urban district councillors and guardians are taken together.

Notice of poll must be given at least five clear days before the election. The notice must be public and posted on or near the principal door of each church and chapel in the parish, and in some conspicuous place or places in the parish. One form of notice of poll is sufficient in cases where the poll for the election of urban district councillors and guardians are taken together. The form will be found under " Urban and Rural District Council Elections."

Nominations.

Nominations must be in writing on the prescribed form, and each candidate must be nominated on separate forms.

Qualification for nomination is by being a parochial elector of some parish within the poor law union, or by having during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election resided in the union. In the case of a parish or united parishes wholly or partly situate within the area of a borough, qualification is by being qualified to be elected a councillor for that borough. The method of filling up and the form of paper to be used are set out under "Urban and Rural District Council Elections."

The nomination of a person absent from the United Kingdom shall be void, unless his written consent, given within one month before the day of his nomination in the presence of two witnesses, is produced at the time of his nomination.

The returning officer must provide nomination papers to any parochial elector free of charge.

The procedure to be adopted as to the time of receipt of nomination papers, decisions upon withdrawal of nominations, notice of nominations, and notice of poll and the various forms relating thereto will be found on pp. 384 *et seq.*

There is no provision for objections to nominations for guardians as there is in the case of municipal and county council elections.

Uncontested Elections.

If the number of candidates who receive valid nominations and who do not withdraw their candidature exceeds that of the persons to be elected as guardians, the guardians shall be elected from amongst the persons nominated.

If the number of valid nominations does not exceed the number of guardians to be elected, or if, by the withdrawal of any candidate the number of candidates for the parish is reduced to a number not exceeding the number to be elected, or if the number of candidates is otherwise so reduced, the returning officer shall, as early as practicable, give public notice in the parish to the effect that no poll will be taken, and that the candidates, or the remaining candidates, as the case may be, will be declared to be elected; and also, in the case of the ordinary election, if the number of such candidates is less than the number of guardians to be elected, and such of any retiring guardians for the parish as were highest on the poll at their election, or, if the poll was equal or there was no poll, as shall have been selected for that purpose by the returning officer by lot to make up the required number, will be declared to be deemed to be re-elected.

If there is no valid nomination, the returning officer shall, as early as practicable, give public notice in the parish that no poll will be taken, and, in the case of the ordinary election, that the retiring guardians will be declared to be deemed to be re-elected.

The returning officer shall forthwith send, by post or otherwise, a copy of any notice under this rule to each of the persons who will be declared to be elected or deemed to be re-elected.

The form of notice that no poll will be taken is as follows:—

Union.
Parish of (or ward of the parish of or united parishes of).

Whereas the following candidates have been duly nominated for election as guardians for the said parish (or ward or united parishes):—(Insert names, places of abode, and description of candidates).

And whereas the number of those (or And whereas the said (insert name or names) has (or have) since withdrawn his (or their) candidature (or if some other event has occurred causing a person to cease to be a candidate, state what it is), and the number of the remaining candidates is (equal to or less than) the number of persons, namely, to be elected as guardians for the said parish (or ward or united parishes),

I do hereby give notice that a poll will not be taken, and that the said (insert names) will be declared elected as guardians for the said parish (or ward or united parishes), *and also that (insert names) , retiring guardians for the said parish (or ward or united parishes) will be declared to be deemed to be re-elected.

Dated this day of , 19 .

Signed *Returning Officer.*

**If the number of candidates or remaining candidates is equal to the number to be elected, or if the election is a first election or is to fill a casual vacancy, omit from the * to the end of the sentence.*

The form of notice that no candidates have been nominated is as follows:—

Union.
Parish of (or ward of the parish of
or united parishes of).

I do hereby give notice that no candidate has been duly nominated for election as a guardian for the said parish (or ward or united parishes), *and that (insert names) the retiring guardians for the said parish (or ward or united parishes) will be declared to be deemed to be re-elected.

Dated this day of , 19 .

Signed

Returning Officer.

*If the election is the first election, or is to fill a casual vacancy omit from the * to the end of the sentence.*

Notice and Taking of Poll.

Notice of taking of poll both in the case of a poll for the election of guardians and also where the poll for urban district councillors and guardians is taken together are given on page 386.

The hours during which the poll shall be open shall be such as shall be fixed by the county council by any general or special order, or if no such order is in force in the parish, then such hours as were applicable at the last ordinary election of guardians or urban district councillors, so, however, that the poll shall always be open between the hours of six and eight in the evening.

In any urban district other than a borough the hours during which any poll shall be open for the election of guardians and urban district councillors shall be the same. If any parish is co-extensive with an urban district for which an election of urban district councillors is to be held other than a borough, or with any ward or wards of any such urban district, or is wholly comprised in any such district which is not divided into wards or in any one ward of such a district which is divided into wards, the poll for the election of guardians for the parish and any poll for the election of urban district councillors shall be taken together. If the county council shall be of opinion in any other case that the polls for the election of guardians and for the election of urban district councillors can conveniently be taken together, they may give directions accordingly to the returning officers for the two elections, and the polls for such elections shall thereupon be taken together.

If polls are taken together in the parish as to an election of guardians and urban district councillors, one ballot box may, if the returning officer thinks fit, be used for the two elections; but if separate ballot boxes are used for the two elections respectively, no vote for any guardian shall be rendered invalid by the ballot paper being placed in the box intended for the reception of ballot papers for urban district councillors. The ballot papers used at the election of guardians shall be of a different colour from that of any ballot papers used in the election of any urban district councillors in the parish when the polls for the two elections are taken together. The manner and method of taking the poll are set out under "Municipal and County Council Elections."

A poll for the election must as far as circumstances permit be conducted as at an election for a member of parliament, and the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872, are to apply at the poll at all local elections with certain exceptions. The election, therefore, is by ballot.

Returning Officer.

The returning officer for the election of urban district councillors is also to be the deputy returning officer for the election of guardians. If the county council direct, the poll for the election of guardians for the parish and any poll for the election of urban district councillors, are to be taken together, the returning officer at the election of urban district councillors for the urban district shall be the deputy returning officer for the purposes hereinafter mentioned in relation to the poll for the election of guardians for the parish. Such deputy returning officer shall be substituted for the returning officer and shall act as deputy returning officer. The returning officer shall send to each returning officer for the election of urban district councillors who is deputy returning officer as aforesaid a statement of the persons validly nominated as guardians for the parish who have not withdrawn their candidatures, giving the surname and other name or names in full of each such candidate and place of abode, and description and the names of the proposer and seconder, and their respective places of abode.

Returning Officer's Expenses.

Any sum which may be payable to the returning officer in taking a poll in the parish, and in respect of expenses incurred in relation to the election shall be defrayed by the guardians of the poor law union, and shall be charged to the parish in their accounts.

Any other sum which may be payable to the returning officer in respect of his services in the conduct of the election shall be defrayed by the guardians, and shall be charged to the parish, except that where any such sum shall be payable in respect of two or more parishes the same shall be apportioned between them according to the number of parochial electors registered in such parishes respectively.

If polls for the election of guardians and urban district councillors are taken together, one-half of any expenses which may be payable in respect of the two polls jointly, including the remuneration of any officers employed in the conduct thereof, shall be deemed to have been incurred in relation to the poll for the election of guardians, and shall be defrayed accordingly.

If a parish is divided into wards, any expenses which would be chargeable to the ward is to be charged to the parish. In the case of united parishes, the expenses are to be divided between the parishes in proportion to the number of parochial electors in each. If a poll for the election of guardians and urban district councillors is taken together, half of the joint expenses is to be deemed to have been incurred in respect of guardians.

The returning officer may use schools receiving a grant, and public rooms, free of charge, for taking and counting the poll.

The returning officer's expenses for guardians' elections in London and any sum payable to the returning officer for his services and other expenses in taking the poll is to be defrayed by the guardians of the union and charged to the parish in their accounts. Any other sum payable to him for his services and other expenses is to be defrayed by the guardians and charged in the case of an ordinary election to the parish, or if it is in a union, to the common fund of the union, and in other cases to the parish; but where the sum is payable in respect of two or more parishes in the union, it is to be apportioned between them according to the number of parochial electors. If a parish is divided into wards, any expense chargeable to the ward is to be charged to the parish in which it is. In the case of united parishes, any sum chargeable to the united parishes is to be divided among them in proportion to the number of parochial electors. The scale of expenses is given below :—

GUARDIANS.

A. MUNICIPAL BOROUGHS.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
In a parish within a borough, for each 750 parochial electors within the parish or ward for which the election is held, or fractional part of 750 ..	2	0	0

UNCONTESTED ELECTIONS.

In a parish within a borough not divided into wards	1	0	0
In a parish within a borough which is divided into wards, for each ward	0	10	0

B. URBAN DISTRICTS OTHER THAN BOROUGHS.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

In a parish within an urban district for each 750 parochial electors within the parish or ward for which the election is held, or fractional part of 750	2	0	0

Where a deputy returning officer acts under Article 13 *of* "*The Guardians (Outside London) Election Order*, 1894," *he shall, in addition to the fee allowed him as presiding officer be entitled to be paid, as remuneration for his services as deputy returning officer, one-third of the amount allowed to the returning officer in respect of that district, to be paid by such returning officer out of his fee.*

UNCONTESTED ELECTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
In a parish within an urban district not divided into wards	1	0	0
In a parish with an urban district divided into wards, for each ward	0	10	0

Polling Districts, Places and Stations.

If the parish is divided into wards for the election of urban district councillors, including the councillors of a borough, the whole of each such ward being comprised in the parish, and the lists of parochial electors are made out in separate parts for such wards, each ward shall be a polling district for the election of guardians.

If the parish is not so divided, but is divided into polling districts for the election of county councillors of a borough, the whole of each such district being comprised in the parish, and the lists of parochial electors are made out in separate parts for such districts, each district shall be a polling district for the election of guardians.

If neither of the above remarks apply to the parish, the returning officer may, if he thinks fit, divide the parish into polling districts for the election of guardians, but each district shall consist of an area for which a separate list of parochial electors will be available.

The polling districts for the election of guardians and of any urban district councillors, when the polls for the two elections are to be taken together, shall be the same.

If the parish is divided into polling districts, each parochial elector shall give his vote in the polling district in which the property in respect of which he is entitled to vote is situate, and if it is situate in more than one polling district, he may vote in any one (but in one only) of the polling districts in which it is situate.

No premises used for the sale of intoxicating liquor shall be used for a polling station. It is the duty of the returning officer to determine the number and situation of the polling places and stations.

The polling stations for the election of guardians and of any urban district councillors, when the polls for the two elections are taken together, shall be the same.

Where the number of parochial electors in the parish, or (if the parish is divided into polling districts) in any polling district, is not more than five hundred, only one polling station shall, unless the county council otherwise direct, be provided for the parish or polling district; and so on for each additional five hundred parochial electors, or for any less number of parochial electors over and above the last five hundred.

The returning officer is to furnish every polling station with such number of compartments in which the voters can mark their votes screened from observation, and to furnish each presiding officer with such number of ballot papers as may be necessary for effectually taking the poll at the election. He is to provide each polling station with materials for voters to mark the ballot papers, with instruments for stamping thereon the official mark, and with copies of the register of voters, or such part thereof as contains the names of the voters allotted to vote at such station. He must keep the official mark secret. At municipal elections the same mark may not be used again for seven years. Every ballot paper must contain a list of the candidates described as in their respective nomination papers, and arranged alphabetically in the order of their surnames, and (if there are two or more candidates with the same surname) of their Christian names. It shall be capable of being folded up. Each ballot paper must have a number printed on the back, and have attached a counterfoil with the same number printed on the face. The ballot papers used at the election of guardians must be of a different colour from those used in the election of any urban district councillors in the parish when the polls for the two elections are taken together. The returning officer is also to provide such ballot boxes, and other things, appoint and pay such officers, and do such other acts and things as may be necessary for effectually conducting the election.

If polls are taken together at an election of guardians and urban district councillors, one ballot box may, if the returning officer thinks fit, be used for the two elections; but if separate boxes are used no vote for any guardian is to be rendered invalid by the ballot paper being placed in the box for the reception of ballot papers for urban district councillors.

Under the Acts of 1856 and 1859, members of the police force were disqualified from voting at local elections. Under the Police Disabilities Act, 1887, a policeman is accorded facilities for voting at all municipal and other elections, including parliamentary, and a constable on duty at a polling station is entitled to vote at any station.

Presiding Officers.

The returning officer, or some person appointed by him for the purpose, shall preside at each polling station. The person presiding at any polling station shall be called the presiding officer; provided that at any polling station the same person shall act as presiding officer for the election of guardians and urban district councillors, the polls for which are to be taken together. An elector shall not vote in more than one parish in the poor law union.

The presiding officer may, and if required by any parochial elector of the parish or any polling agent shall, put to any elector at the time of his applying for a ballot paper, but not afterwards, the following questions, or one of them, and no other:—

> Are you the person entered in the parochial register for this parish (or ward) as follows (read the whole entry from the register)?
>
> Have you already voted at the present election of guardians in this or any other parish or ward in the Union?

A person required to answer either of these questions shall not receive a ballot paper or be permitted to vote until he has answered the question.

Polling and Personation Agents.

The appointment of paid election agents as such is not authorised at a guardians' election; but if an agent of a candidate is appointed, and notice in writing of the appointment is given to the returning officer, one clear day before the polling day, then the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872, with respect to agents of candidates, shall as far as regards that agent, apply in the case of that election.

If there are only two candidates, each of them may, in writing, appoint a polling agent for each polling station, who may be paid or unpaid. If there are more than two candidates, any number of them, being not less than one-third of the whole number of candidates, may, in writing, appoint one polling agent for each polling station, who may be paid or unpaid. Any such appointment shall be delivered at the office of the returning officer not less than two clear days before the day of the poll. Except as aforesaid, no polling agent, whether paid or unpaid, shall be appointed for the purposes of the election.

The Count.

If the poll for the election of guardians for the parish and any poll for the election of urban district councillors are not to be taken together, the returning officer, if he does not himself count the votes, shall appoint some person to act as deputy returning officer for the parish as regards the custody and opening of the ballot boxes, the counting and recording of the votes, and the declaration of the number of votes given for each candidate, and of the election of the candidate or candidates to whom the largest number of votes has been given. The person so appointed shall, in addition to his other powers and duties, have all the powers and duties of the returning officer in relation to the matters aforesaid, and to the decision of any question as to any ballot paper and otherwise as to the ballot papers. The returning officer shall not himself count the votes in more than one urban parish in the union. The votes for each parish shall be counted as soon as practicable after the close of the poll. If an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates, and the addition of a vote would entitle any of such candidates to be declared to be elected, the returning officer or deputy returning officer who counts the votes may, if a parochial elector of the parish, give such additional vote in writing, but shall not otherwise be entitled to vote at the election. If in such a case the returning officer, or deputy returning officer, as the case may be, is not a parochial elector of the parish, or is unwilling to vote, he shall determine by lot which of the candidates whose votes are equal shall be elected.

In the event of one or more casual vacancies being filled up at the ordinary election, where there is a poll, the persons elected by the fewest votes shall be deemed elected to fill such vacancies. Should there be an equality of votes between such persons the guardians shall determine by ballot which of such persons shall be deemed elected to fill the casual vacancy. If the persons elected to fill the casual vacancies will hold office for different periods, the persons elected by the fewest votes, or, if the votes were equal, the person selected by the guardians by ballot from the persons so elected, shall hold office for the shorter period. Where there is no poll the person or persons to be deemed to be elected to fill the casual vacancy or vacancies shall be determined by the guardians by ballot.

Declaration of Result.

The form of declaration of result of poll is as follows:—

Union.

Election of guardians for the above union in the year 19 .

Parish of (or ward of the parish of or united parishes of)

I, the undersigned, being the returning officer (or deputy returning officer duly authorised in that behalf) at the poll for the election of guardians for the said parish (or ward or united parishes) held on the day of , 19 , do hereby give notice that the number of votes recorded for each candidate at the election is as follows :—

Names of Candidates.		Places of abode.	Number of Votes recorded.
Surnames.	Other Names.		

And I do hereby declare that the said are duly elected guardians for the said parish (or ward or united parishes).

Dated this day of , 19 .

Signed

Returning Officer
(*or Deputy Returning Officer*).

The returning officer or deputy returning officer, as the case may be, making the declaration shall forthwith cause a copy of it to be affixed on the front of the building in which the votes have been counted. If the declaration is made by a deputy returning officer, he shall forthwith send it to the returning officer.

Publication of Result.

The returning officer shall prepare and sign a notice of the result of the elections in all the urban parishes in the poor law union for which elections are held, and shall by such notice declare to be elected or to be deemed to be re-elected the persons who are to be declared to be elected or to be deemed to be re-elected without a poll being taken.

The returning officer shall cause a copy of the notice to be suspended in the board room of the guardians. He shall also send a sufficient number of copies of the notice to the overseers of all the urban parishes in the union for which elections were held, and the overseers shall cause public notice to be given thereof. The returning officer shall also send copies of the notice to the persons elected or deemed to be re-elected.

The form of notice of result of the election is :—

> Union.
> Election of guardians for the above-named union in the year 19 .
>
> I, the undersigned, being the returning officer at the election of guardians for the said union, do hereby give notice that the candidates whose names are entered in column 6 of the statement hereunder, opposite to the names of parishes, wards, and united parishes in which polls have been taken, have been declared duly elected guardians: and I hereby declare that the persons whose names are entered in the said column (or in column 7)* opposite to the names of parishes, wards, and united parishes where no polls have been

taken were duly elected (or are to be deemed to be re-elected)* guardians for the same.

Parishes, Wards, and United Parishes. 1	Names of Candidates.		Places of abode. 4	Number of Votes recorded. 5	Names of Candidates elected. 6	Names of retiring Guardians deemed to be re-elected.* 7
	Surnames. 2	Other Names. 3				

Dated this day of , 19 .
Signed,
Returning Officer.

**If the election is a fresh election, or is to fill a casual vacancy, omit the words between the asterisks, and also column* 7.

Candidate's Expenses.

There is no limit to candidate's expenses, neither is there a limit of time for which claims may be sent in and paid, nor has any return or declaration as to expenses to be made. There can of course be no illegal payment within the meaning of the phrase " corrupt and illegal practices."

Corrupt and Illegal Practices.

No payment or contract for payment shall for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a guardians election, be made on account of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll whether for the hiring of horses or carriages, or for railway fares or otherwise ; or to an elector on account of the use of any house, land, building or premises for the exhibition of any address, bill, or notice, or on account of the exhibition of any address, bill, or notice.

Subject to such exception as may be allowed, if any payment or contract for payment is knowingly made in contravention of Section 4 (2) Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1894, either before, during, or after a municipal election, the person making such payments or contract shall be guilty of an illegal practice, and any person receiving such payment or being a party to any such contract, knowing same to be in contravention of this Act, shall also be guilty of an illegal practice.

Where it is the ordinary business of an elector as an advertising agent to exhibit for payment bills and advertisements, a payment to or contract with such elector, if made in the ordinary course of business, shall not be deemed to be an illegal practice within the meaning of this section.

Any premises, which are licensed for the sale of any intoxicating liquor for consumption on or off the premises, or on which refreshment of any kind (whether food or drink) is ordinarily sold for consumption on the premises, or any premises where any intoxicating liquor is supplied to members of a club, society, or association, or any part of any such premises, shall not, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a guardians election, be used either as a committee room or for holding a meeting, and if any person hires or uses any such premises or any part thereof in contravention of this section be shall be guilty of illegal hiring, and the person letting or permitting the use of such premises or part thereof, if he knew it was intended to use the same in contravention of Section 16 of the Act, shall also be guilty of illegal hiring.

It is provided that nothing in this section shall apply to any part of such premises which is ordinarily let for the purpose of chambers or offices or the holding of public meetings or of arbitrations, if such part has a separate entrance and no direct communication with any part of the premises on which any intoxicating liquor or refreshment is sold or supplied as aforesaid. (Chapter 18 is an exhaustive review of corrupt and illegal practices.)

Custody of Papers, etc.

See under "Municipal and County Council Elections."

5. PARISH COUNCILS ELECTIONS.

Parish councils are elected every three years and consist of a chairman and any number of councillors, of either sex, not exceeding 15 or less than five, as fixed by the county council. Its functions consist of governing overseers of the poor, the management of secular parochial buildings, parish room or offices. It can under certain circumstances provide baths and wash-houses, libraries, and make public improvements, for which purpose it can impose a rate up to 1d. in the pound. It can purchase or hire with consent of the county council, land for allotments. It can after approval by the county council and Ministry of Health raise a loan up to a half of the assessable value of the district for buying land, buildings or for permanent works, but the total rate must not exceed 6d. in the £1, and where it exceeds 3d. in the £1, the electors must sanction the increase at a parish meeting. It can provide public recreation grounds and public walks, give its consent to the closing or diversion of highways, and acquire rights of way. The method of election of councillors differs in many ways to the election of other councillors set out in this chapter, and is, therefore, dealt with at some length.

The chairman is elected at the annual meeting by the parish councillors from their own body or from other persons qualified to be councillors. There is no sex disqualification for councillors.

Constitution.

There shall be a parish council for every rural parish which has a population of 300 or upwards. In rural parishes of a population less than that number, councils may be established by order of the county council or the parish may be grouped with another parish, but there appears to be no provision to combine three or more parishes. If two parishes are combined they must be contiguous to one another. The combining of two parishes for the purposes of election may save the election of a separate guardian for the parish whose population is insufficient to warrant such an election. No parish may be grouped with another parish without the consent of the parish meeting.

Parish Meetings.

A parish meeting must consist of parochial electors, that is to say persons registered as local government electors of the parish or of parliamentary electors of the parish. Such an elector is entitled to one vote for each of any number of persons not exceeding the number of persons to be elected, and no more, at the proceedings of a parish meeting. A parish meeting must be held at least once in every year, and must not begin before 6.0 o'clock in the evening. A meeting may choose its own chairman. At the annual meeting the parish council shall elect within its own body or from persons qualified to be parish councillors of the parish, a chairman who shall continue to act in office until his successor is appointed. A parish meeting shall be held in any suitable public room vested in the parish council. If there is no such suitable room, the parish council is entitled to use free of charge at all reasonable times and after reasonable notice any suitable room in the school house of any public elementary school receiving the parliamentary grant, or in other suitable room the expenses of maintaining which is payable out of the local rate. School hours whether day or night, must not be interfered with, neither must a room used for the administration of justice be used during the hours which it is ordinarily required for this purpose. Such premises may be used either for the annual meeting or for the candidature of any person for the district or the parish council.

Public notice must be given of a parish meeting seven clear days before the meeting, by posting the notice in some conspicuous place or places within the parish, and by any other means which the council consider desirable for giving publicity to the meeting. No parish meeting must be held in premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquor excepting in cases where no suitable room is available either free of charge or at reasonable cost. The notice must state the business to be transacted at the meeting, and be signed by the chairman of the parish council or other conveners of the meetings.

Every question decided at a parish meeting must be decided in the first instance by the majority of those present, and the decision of the chairman shall be final unless a poll is demanded. The chairman has the casting vote in the event of a tie. Where the meeting is held for the election of parish councillors, opportunity must be given for putting questions to such candidates as are present. All candidates are entitled to attend and speak at the meeting, but they must not vote unless they are registered electors.

The form of notice of parish meeting is as follows :—

NOTICE OF PARISH MEETING.

Parish of (or ward of the parish of).

1. Notice is hereby given that the parish meeting for the election of parish councillors for the above-named parish (or ward) and for other business (*b*) will be held at on the day of March, 19 , at (*c*) o'clock in the evening.

2. The number of parish councillors to be elected at the meeting is (*d*)

3. Each candidate for election as a parish councillor must be nominated in writing, and the nomination paper must be handed in at the parish meeting.

4. A parochial elector may sign (*d*) nomination papers but no more.

(*e*) A parochial elector must not sign a nomination paper for more than one ward, or for a ward for which he is not registered in respect of a qualification in that ward.

5 Forms of nomination paper may be obtained, free of charge, from the clerk to the parish council (*f*) at

6. The nomination paper must be in the following form, or in a form to a like effect :—

FORM OF NOMINATION PAPER.

Election of parish councillors for the parish of (or for the ward of the parish of) in the year 19 .

We, the undersigned, being respectively parochial electors of the said parish (or ward) do hereby nominate the undermentioned person as a candidate at the said election.

Name of Candidate.		Place of abode.	Descrip-tion.	Where Qualified as Parochial Elector or by residence.
Surname. 1	Other names in full. 2	3	4	5
		*		

* *See note on page* 353 *as to "abode."*

Signature of Proposer ....
Place of abode ....
Signature of Seconder ....
Place of abode ....

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILLING UP NOMINATION PAPER (*g*).

1. The surname of only one candidate for election must be inserted in column 1.

2. The other names of the candidate must be inserted in full in column 2.

3. Insert in column 3 the place of abode of candidate.

4. In column 4 state the occupation, if any, of the candidate. If the candidate has no occupation, insert some such description as "gentleman," or "married woman," or "spinster," or "widow," as the case may be.

5. If the candidate is a parochial elector of the parish (that is, if his or her name is registered in the register of parochial electors of the parish) insert in column 5 "parochial elector." If the candidate is not a parochial elector of the parish, but he or she has, during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election, resided in the parish or within three miles of it, or has entered into residence on or before the 25th day of March in the preceding year, insert in column 5 "Residence." If the candidate is a parochial elector of the parish, and is also qualified by residence, it will be sufficient to insert in column 5 either "parochial elector," or "residence," but both may be inserted.

6. The paper must be signed by two parochial electors of the parish (or ward) and no more; by one as proposer, and by the other as seconder. The places of abode of the proposer and seconder must also be inserted. Instead of signing, the proposer or seconder may affix his mark if it is witnessed by two parochial electors.

(*h*) 7. The meeting will also be the annual assembly of the parish meeting.

(*i*)

Dated this day of , 19 .

Chairman of the Parish Council.

(*b*) If no other business is to be transacted, omit the words "and for other business." . .

(*c*) Insert hours of meeting, not being earlier than six o'clock.

(*d*) Insert number of parish councillors to be elected for the parish or ward.

(*e*) Insert this only where the notice relates to a ward.

(*f*) If there is no such clerk, substitute the overseers here.

(*g*) These instructions form part of the nomination paper

(*h*) If the meeting will not be the annual assembly of the parish meeting omit these words.

(*i*) If any other business is to be transacted at the meeting here state what it is.

Candidates before the Meeting.

The chairman puts the names of all candidates before the meeting, and if the candidates are not more in number than the persons to be elected they are deemed to be so elected by the chairman. If at the ordinary election any vacancies are not filled, so many of the retiring councillors are to continue to hold office if they are so willing, and are to be those who were highest at the poll on the previous council election.

Nomination papers must be handed to the chairman at the parish meeting, and he must ask for them. He shall number them in the order in which they are received. If the chairman is a nominated candidate he must call upon the meeting to appoint some other chairman. Upon receipt of all nomination papers he must examine same and decide whether they are valid. The decision of the chairman as to the validity of the papers is final and cannot be questioned.

Powers and Duties.

The expenses of a parish council and of a meeting, including the expenses of a poll, shall be paid out of the poor rate. The parish council may appoint one of their number to act as clerk without remuneration, so also may they appoint one of their own number or some other person to act as treasurer without remuneration, and the treasurer must give such security as is required by the county council. The parish may by order of the county council be divided for the purposes of electing parish councils into wards and the county council may also order the number of councillors for each ward. If a parish council become unable to act from want of councillors, the county council may order a new election. A parish council can act so long as at least one-third of its full number are present if that number is not less than three.

Tenure of Office.

A parish council shall be elected for three years and shall go out of office on the 1st April every third year and shall in every year on or within seven days of the 15th of April hold an annual meeting.

Qualifications.

The qualification for being elected a parish councillor is that a person must either be a local government elector of the parish or must have during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election resided in the parish or within three miles thereof. The expression " register of voters " means persons registered in such portions of the register as relate to the parish. They must be actually on the register and not " entitled to be registered " as in the case of county council and municipal councillors.

Franchise Qualifications.

Electors for the election of parish councillors must be those persons whose names appear on the register as entitled to vote at the local government elections in the parish. There is a provision for marking the register in the case of local government electors who are not entitled to vote at all local government elections. This provision secures that no person can vote in the same constituency in the case of a local government election for more than one qualification, and in the case of parish council elections this means no person can vote more than once in the same parish or ward of a parish. An elector, may, however, choose which qualification he prefers to be registered for.

Disqualifications.

Disqualifications and the exceptions thereto for being elected a parish councillor are fully set out in the section of this chapter headed "Urban and Rural District Councils

Elections." Exactly the same provisions apply and therefore it is not necessary to repeat them here.

Vacancies.

Vacancies occur for two reasons (1) the ordinary vacancy on the council going out of office on the 15th April in every third year, and (2) casual vacancies occurring through the causes set out in the above-mentioned subsection of this chapter.

Election of Chairman.

The chairman is elected at the annual meeting of the council which is to be held on or take place within seven days of the 15th April in every third year. The chairman may be elected from the body of the councillors or from other persons qualified to be parish councillors. The election of chairman is the first business of the council at the annual meeting. The election must be decided by the majority of votes of the councillors present, and in the event of a tie the chairman of the meeting has the casting vote.

Election of Councillors.

If at the parish meeting the number of nominations received exceed the number of vacancies to be filled, and a poll is demanded, it shall be conducted by ballot and as far as circumstances will permit in accordance with the Ballot Act of 1872.

Notice of Election and Poll.

Not less than seven clear days notice must be given of a parish meeting and of the business to be transacted at it, but only three clear days notice is required of a meeting of the council to fill a casual vacancy. No casual vacancy need be filled where it occurs within six months of the day on which in the ordinary course the office would become vacant. A poll can be demanded at the parish meeting by electors not being less than five in number or one-third of those present whichever number is less and unless withdrawal of the demand for a poll is given by those who made it, a poll must be taken. If a withdrawal of the poll is made the returning officer gives public notice of the abandonment of the poll in the following form :—

NOTICE OF ABANDONMENT OF POLL.

Whereas at a parish meeting for the parish of (for the ward of the parish of), held on the day of March, 19 , a poll was demanded, and directed to be taken as to which of the following candidates should be elected as parish councillors for the said parish (or ward), and such demand was not withdrawn. (Insert names, place of abode, and description of each candidate.)

And whereas the said (insert name) has since withdrawn his candidature and the number of the remaining candidates does not exceed the number of persons to be elected as parish councillors for the said parish (or ward), I do hereby give notice that the poll demanded will not take place, and I hereby declare that the said (insert names) are elected as parish councillors for the said parish (or ward).

Dated this day of , 19 .

Returning Officer.

Form of notice of poll is as is given for urban district councils suitably adapted to suit the election. The returning officer may use free of charge for the purpose of taking the poll or for counting the votes any room in a school receiving a grant out of monies provided by parliament or any room the expenses of maintaining which are payable out of any local rate. The use of any room in any unoccupied house for the purpose of taking a poll shall not render any person liable to be rated or to pay any rate for such house.

Uncontested Elections.

If the candidates whose nominations are valid are not more than the number of persons to be elected, such candidates shall be deemed to be elected and declared elected by the chairman. In such case no poll is taken and the chairman must as soon as possible after the meeting by public notice publish the names, and place of abode of such persons elected, and inform each person that he has been so elected. The form of certificate by the chairman where there is no poll is below:—

CERTIFICATE BY CHAIRMAN OF PARISH MEETING WHERE THERE IS NO POLL.

Election of parish councillors for the parish of (or for the ward of the parish of) in the year 19 .

I, the undersigned, being the chairman of the parish meeting held on the day of March, 19 , for the said parish (or ward), do hereby certify that the following candidates were declared by me at the meeting to be elected as parish councillors for the said parish (or ward):—

Names of Candidates.		Place of Abode.
Surnames.	Other Names.	

Dated this day of , 19 .

Chairman of Parish Meeting.

Nominations.

The returning officer must supply nomination papers to every parochial elector who applies for them. The form of nomination paper is printed above in the notice of Parish Meeting. The instructions as to filling up the nomination paper form part of the nomination paper itself. The nomination of a person absent from the United Kingdom shall be void unless his consent in writing one month before the date of his nomination, in the presence of two witnesses, is produced at the time of his nomination. The chairman must send on the day after a parish meeting notice by post or otherwise to each candidate who has been nominated that a poll has been demanded. A candidate may give notice of withdrawal not later than twelve noon on the Tuesday following the Thursday after the parish meeting. Notice must be in writing signed by the candidate withdrawing and delivered to the office of the returning officer. If any such withdrawal reduces the number of candidates to a number not exceeding the vacancies, the returning officer must give notice that no poll will be held in the terms of the form given above.

The Returning Officer.

The returning officer shall be the clerk to the rural district council in which the parish is situated, or if he is unable or unwilling to act such person as the rural district council may appoint. The returning officer is to appoint an office for the purposes of an election, and he may appoint a deputy who shall have all these powers, duties and liabilities. The same person shall act as deputy returning officer in respect of the election of both parish councillors, and in any rural district councils to be elected at the same date in the parish.

Hours of Poll.

The hours during which the poll shall be opened shall be such as are fixed by the county council as in the case of rural district council elections, in any event the poll shall be open between the hours of 6.0 p.m. and 8.0 p.m. The hours during which the poll shall be open are to be the same for the election of rural districts councillors and parish councillors.

Miscellaneous.

The duties of the returning officer in regard to polling districts, polling stations, ballot papers, counting of votes, casting vote, declaration and publication of result of poll are fully set out in the subsection of this chapter entitled " Municipal and County Council Elections," and it is not necessary to repeat them here.

Agents.

Agents may be employed by candidates but, with the exception of polling agents, may not be paid. If there are only two candidates each may appoint only one polling agent for each polling station which may be paid or not paid. If there are more than two candidates, any number, not less than one-third of the whole number, may appoint one polling agent for each polling station, paid or not paid. No other polling agents whether paid or not paid can be appointed. Notice of such appointments, in writing, must be delivered to the office of the returning officer not less than two clear days before the close of the poll. Each candidate may appoint an agent to attend the counting of votes and the appointment must be in writing and delivered to the returning officer at least one clear day before the opening of the poll. No appointment of paid election agents can be made as in the case of a parliamentary election. There is no provision for the presence of a candidate at the counting of votes unless the candidate himself undertakes the duties which any agent of his if appointed to attend the counting of votes might have undertaken. He may, therefore, attend if he does not appoint an agent and take the place of such agent.

Returning Officer's Expenses.

Expenses of the returning officer must not exceed the scale fixed by the county council (see General Order, dated 20th November, 1894, issued under the Local Government Act, 1894). The existing scale is given below. The expenses of the parish meeting, the expenses of the poll, if any, and the sum paid to the returning officer for his services, are to be paid out of the poor rate. If the poll in the case of a parish council election is taken at the same time as the poll for the rural district council election, half of the joint expenses are to be charged to the parish council. The scale of expenses is given below:—

I.—*Disbursements.*

PAYMENTS MADE FOR	
1. Use of room or building, including lighting and firing.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding for each polling station 10s.
2. Fitting up rooms required for poll or, when necessary, hiring or constructing a polling station with its fittings and compartments.	Actual and necessary cost.
3. Each ballot box required to be purchased.	Actual and necessary cost.
4. Use of each ballot box, when hired.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 2s. 6d.
5. Printing and providing ballot papers.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding for the first 500, £1; and for every 100, or fraction of 100, an addition of 1s.
6. Stationery at each polling station.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 2s. 6d.
7. Each stamping instrument, purchase, or hire, or alteration.	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 10s.
8. Copies of the register of parochial electors.	Actual and necessary cost.

ELECTION OF GUARDIANS (*Continued*).

PAYMENTS MADE FOR—*continued.*

9. Printing and providing notices, nomination forms and other documents required in and about the election or poll and costs of publishing same.	Actual and necessary cost.
10. Returning officers' travelling expenses, where necessary, to make arrangements for poll.	By rail, 3rd class; by road, where necessary, actual cost, not exceeding 9d. a mile each way.
11. Conveyance of ballot boxes, papers, etc., from office to polling place.	Actual and necessary cost (by railway or parcel post where practicable).
12. Conveyance of ballot boxes from the polling stations to the place where the ballot papers are counted.	By rail, actual fare, 3rd class; by road, actual cost, not exceeding 1s. a mile.
13. For the services of police where required.	The sum actually charged.

When the poll is open for

	12 hrs. or upwards.	less than 12 hrs. but not less than 8 hrs.	less than 8 hrs. but not less than 6 hrs.	less than 6 hrs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
14. For each presiding officer, to include all duties as deputy returning officer and all expenses, not exceeding	3 0 0	2 0 0	1 10 0	1 0 0
15. For the clerk at a polling station, to include all expenses, not exceeding	1 0 0	0 15 0	0 12 6	0 10 0

16. For each person employed in counting votes, to include all expenses, not exceeding:—

	£ s. d.
In urban parishes..	0 10 0
In rural parishes	0 5 0

Sums in addition to the maximum amount specified in 1 and 5 may be allowed to the returning officer by the local authority, if they are satisfied that there were exceptional circumstances which rendered necessary the incurring of an expense in excess of the amount specified.

Under 14 and 15 an additional allowance of 10s. shall be given for each night necessarily spent away from home.

In determining under 14 the charge for any presiding officer, regard should be had as to whether he acted as deputy returning officer in the counting of the votes, and whether the poll has been taken with respect to one election or to more than one.

The employment of a second clerk at a polling station with the remuneration specified in 15 may be authorised by the local authority, if the services of such clerk are considered by them to be requisite.

The above-mentioned allowances are to include the remuneration for all elections held on the same day.

In a rural parish where there is only one contested election and the number of parochial electors does not exceed 200, the returning officer or his deputy will be allowed one counting clerk, and for every 200 additional parochial electors an additional counting clerk. Where there are contests for both district and parish councillors, additional counting clerks may be employed, provided that in no case shall the number exceed 4.

In an urban parish, the number of counting clerks charged for shall in no case exceed 1 for each 500 parochial electors.

POLLS CONSEQUENT ON PARISH MEETINGS

	£	s.	d.
For every poll consequent on a parish meeting where such poll is not taken as to the election of parish councillors:—			
In a parish with a population of 300 or upwards according to the census of 1891, not exceeding	1	10	0
In a parish with a population of less than 300 according to the same census, not exceeding	1	0	0
The payment under this head is to cover all the services of the returning officer, including those of presiding officer, and if a poll is taken on more than one question on the same day in any parish, only one fee shall be charged.			
For services preliminary to poll, if a poll is not taken in consequence of the withdrawal of any candidates:—			
In a parish with a population of 300 or upwards according to the census of 1891	0	10	0
In a parish with a population of less than 300 according to the same census	0	5	0

Candidates' Expenses.

No return of election expenses is to be made nor is there any time limit for sending in or paying claims. There is no limit to the amount of expenses which may be incurred by a candidate at parish council elections. Provided all payments are legal it would appear any amount of money can be spent on the election. It of course follows that no corrupt or illegal practices may be committed.

Corrupt and Illegal Practices.

No payment or contract for payment shall for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a parish council election, be made on account of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll whether for the hiring of horses or carriages, or for railway fares or otherwise ; or to an elector on account of the use of any house, land, building or premises for the exhibition of any address, bill, or notice, or on account of the exhibition of any address, bill, or notice.

Subject to such exception as may be allowed, if any payment or contract for payment is knowingly made in contravention of Section 4 (2) Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1894, either before, during, or after a municipal election, the person making such payment or contract shall be guilty of an illegal practice, and any person receiving such payment or being a party to any such contract, knowing the same to be in contravention of this Act, shall also be guilty of an illegal practice.

Where it is the ordinary business of an elector as an advertising agent to exhibit for payment bills and advertisements, a payment to or contract with such elector, if made in the ordinary course of business, shall not be deemed to be an illegal practice within the meaning of this section.

Any premises which are licensed for the sale of any intoxicating liquor for consumption on or off the premises, or on which refreshment of any kind (whether food or drink) is ordinarily sold for consumption on the premises, or any premises where any intoxicating liquor is supplied to members of a club, society or association, or any part of any such premises, shall not, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at a parish council election, be used either as a committee room or for holding a meeting, and if any person hires or uses any such premises or any part thereof in contravention of this section he shall be guilty of illegal hiring, and the person letting or permitting the use of such premises or part thereof, if he knew it was intended to use the same in contravention of Section 16 of the Act, shall also be guilty of illegal hiring.

It is provided that nothing in this section shall apply to any part of such premises which is ordinarily let for the purpose of chambers or offices, or the holding of public meetings or of arbitrations, if such part has a separate entrance and no direct communication with any part of the premises on which any intoxicating liquor or refreshment is sold or supplied as aforesaid.

The subject of Corrupt and Illegal Practices is very fully discussed in chapter 18.

Custody of Papers.

The duties of returning officer in regard to the custody of papers is fully dealt with in the subsection of this chapter entitled, "Urban and District Council Elections." Papers are to be kept for six months and not twelve.

(6) CITY OF LONDON ELECTIONS.

Elections in the City of London are held, with certain exceptions, on the lines of a municipal election. It is not the purpose of this book to deal with the ancient Charters and Customs controlling the local government of the city. The object of the present chapter is to show the distinctions between the procedure at City of London elections and ordinary municipal elections. The leading authority on the City of London is " The Law and Customs of the City of London," by Alexander Pulling, C.B. Below will be found some notes useful to those engaged in City of London elections, and these are to be read in conjunction with the subsection of this chapter on municipal elections.

The City of London, except for a few L.C.C. powers, is a self-governing and independent body, although it sends four councillors to the London County Council. It has its own police, and own courts of law. The governing body is the council—one of the most ancient institutions in the country. The City is a Corporation with a Lord Mayor who has an official residence. The governing bodies are :—

(1) The Court of Aldermen.
(2) The Court of Common Council.
(3) The Court of Common Hall.

The first court consists of 26 aldermen, elected for life—one from each of the 26 wards in the city. The aldermen are justices of the peace for the city.

Court of Common Council.

The Court of Common Council consists of the 26 aldermen, and also 206 common councillors elected annually on the 21st December. The common council is the executive governing body and delegates its work to numerous committees such as the City Lands Committee, Markets Committee, Bridges Committee, Library Committee, etc., up to about 30 in number. The Court of Common Council elects its town clerk, remembrancer, coroner and under sheriff.

Court of Common Hall.

The Court of Common Hall, is composed of the Lord Mayor, the sheriffs, the aldermen and the liverymen (about 8,000 in number) of the City Companies. It meets twice a year and elects the sheriffs, city chamberlain and other officials. It also nominates two aldermen from whom the court of aldermen choose the Lord Mayor.

Qualifications.

The Lord Mayor must be elected from among the aldermen of the city who have served in the office of sheriff.

An alderman must be a freeman of the city, not already an alderman. He must be a natural born British subject, born in the United Kingdom of an English father.

A common councillor to be qualified must be a freeman of the city, not subject to any legal incapacity, and must occupy in the ward for which he is a candidate, premises rated for any rate, in his own name, of not less than £10 a year, or in the case of joint occupation on the basis of not less than £10 a year for each joint occupier. He must also be registered as a parliamentary voter for the City of London. For precedure as to nomination, see under Municipal Elections.

Disqualifications.

Disqualifications for holding office as either alderman or common councillor include bankruptcy, insolvency, arrangement or composition with creditors, or absence from duty for more than six months (except in the case of illness). Conviction for fraud or any other crime also disqualifies. A person convicted of or reported guilty of corrupt practices at a parliamentary election during seven years before the election is also disqualified. In the case of bankruptcy, etc., disqualification ceases on payment of debts in full.

Franchise Qualifications.

Every person of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, who has for a period of not less than twelve months previous to the first of December been in occupation in the city of premises rated in his own name of not less than £10. As to joint occupation qualification, see under "Qualifications," the same rule applying. Every person whose name appears on the current register of parliamentary electors is entitled to vote. The franchise is also extended to all persons who would be entitled to be on the register of voters as occupiers if resident. The register of voters is made out on the third of December every year in alphabetical order and remains in force until the same date in the then next year.

Elections.

The Lord Mayor is elected on the 29th September, or if that day be a Sunday, then the preceding day. He takes office on the 8th November. He is elected at a meeting of the mayor, aldermen and liverymen in common hall.

Aldermen.

Aldermen are elected for life. There is no ordinary day for the election of aldermen. When casual vacancies occur the election takes place on a wardmote summoned by the Lord Mayor. At elections of aldermen the poll, if any, is to take place on the third day after the demand for a poll—or the fourth day if the third is a Sunday. Hours of poll, 8.0 a.m. to 6.0 p.m.

Common Councillors.

The election of councilmen is held annually by the different wards on summons by the aldermen. If a poll is demanded by any of the candidates, or by any two or more electors, it must be taken by ballot. The poll is to be taken in the same manner as at a contested parliamentary election as far as circumstances permit.

Casual Vacancies.

Casual vacancies occur through death and through the disqualifications mentioned above. Elections to fill casual vacancies are held on the day after the demand for a poll in the case of a councillor, and on the third day after the demand in the case of an alderman.

Hours of Poll.

The poll is to take place on the day following that fixed for the election, and is to commence at 10.0 a.m. and not be kept open later than 6.0 p.m.

Candidate's Expenses.

In the case of an election by liverymen in common hall, a sum may be paid and expenses incurred up to £40 if a poll is not demanded, and in the case of a poll not exceeding £250.

In the case of the elections of aldermen and councillors a sum may be paid and expense incurred not exceeding £25, and if the number of electors in the ward exceeds

500, an additional 3d. for each elector over and above the first 500. In the case of two joint candidates, reduce the amount allowed by one-fourth, and in the case of more than two joint candidates by one-third. Therefore, the candidate's expenses are regulated exactly in the same way as they are for municipal elections.

Return and Declaration of Expenses.

Claims against a candidate must be sent in within 14 days of the declaration of the poll and paid within 21 days. Every agent to a candidate must within 23 days make a return to the candidate of all expenses incurred by him on account of the election. Failure renders an agent liable to a fine not exceeding £50.

Every candidate must within 28 days send to the town clerk a return of all expenses incurred by him or his agents on account of the election. The return is to be vouched for, except in the case of amounts under £1, and accompanied by a declaration. The form of return and the form of declaration is the same as that used in the case of municipal and county council elections.

If the candidate fails to make the return and declaration within the prescribed time he is guilty of an illegal practice unless he receives authorised excuse. Neither must he sit or vote until he has received authorised excuse. If he does sit or vote he is liable to be sued by a common informer for penalties of £50 a day. The return and declaration must be sent even although no expenses have been incurred.

Returning Officer.

The returning officer is the sheriff. The returning officer is also the presiding officer, in the event of a poll to fill a casual vacancy. The returning officer has all the powers, duties and liabilities conferred and imposed upon him by the Ballot Act of 1872. The City of London Ballot Act, 1887, regulates the municipal elections within the City of London. The provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, Part IV, and subsection 35 apply to municipal elections within the City of London. The returning officer has a casting vote.

Returning Officer's Expenses.

Any costs or expenses incurred in an election for any ward for the election of aldermen or councillors is paid out of ward rate of that ward, and in any other case out of the city's cash.

Custody Inspection and Copies of Papers.

All papers and other documents which in the case of a parliamentary election are forwarded to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery are to be delivered to the town clerk of the City of London. The regulations for the inspection of documents, fees for copies, are prescribed by the common council. The town clerk is to be custodian of ballot and other papers, and to be responsible for the destruction of the ballot papers. The candidates' returns and declarations are to be kept by the town clerk for twelve months after he has received them, and are to be open to inspection by any person on the payment of 1s. and copies may be had at the price of 2d. for every 72 words. After the twelve months they can be destroyed unless a candidate requires them to be returned to him.

(7) LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

The London County Council administrative area covers nearly 120 square miles including the City of London, with a population of nearly five millions, as returned in the last census. It comprises parts of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Essex, Kent, and Surrey. The London County Council was established under the Local Government Act of 1888, and consists of 124 county councillors elected as follows:—Two from each of the 62 electoral divisions of the county, plus four from the City of London—making 58 divisions in all. The elections take place every three years between the 1st and 8th March as the county council may fix. If the day of election falls on Sunday, etc., the election is to be held on the following day. The council consists of a chairman and, in addition to the 124 councillors, of 20 aldermen elected for six years. The aldermen retire in thirds. The term of office for the chairman is one year. The L.C.C.'s functions are important and varied and include the provision of education and tramway services, the control of working class dwellings, open spaces, parks, fire brigades, sewers, etc. etc. It makes large grants to the guardians of the poor, and carries out extensive public health work. Many chapters could be written upon the local government of London, but that is not the purpose of this book. Hereunder, however, will be found notes as to the management and conduct of elections held for the election of London county councillors, in so far as the elections differ from the ordinary county council elections.

It is not proposed in this subsection of the chapter to reiterate all that has been said on the subject of county council elections in subsection 1. In that subsection the qualifications and disqualifications, method of election,

election of chairman and aldermen, duties of the returning officer, etc. etc., are given, and what has been written in that subsection must be taken to apply to elections under the London County Council. One difference, however, which must be set out is the scale of returning officer's expenses for the election of county councillors in the administrative County of London. They are :—

CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

1. For hire of rooms or buildings for polling, or expenses attending the use of such rooms or buildings.	Actual and necessary cost.

The amount to be paid in respect of the use of any school receiving a grant out of moneys provided by Parliament or out of a local rate by way of expenses for the use of such school must not exceed 15/- *if the election takes place in the month of May, June, July or August, or* 21/- *if the election takes place in any other month of the year.*

2. For fitting up a polling station	Actual and necessary cost.
3. For each ballot box—	
(*a*) Purchased	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding £1 1s. 0d.
(*b*) Hired	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 2s. 6d.
(*c*) Cleaned or repaired	Actual and necessary cost.

No ballot box must be purchased or hired if there is a sufficient number in the possession of the local authorities.

4. For printing and providing ballot papers, per thousand	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 17s. 6d., when there are not more than six names, and 1s. 6d. for every additional name. (Part of a thousand to be charged for proportionately.)
5. For stationery at each polling station	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 3s. 6d.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS (*Con.*)

6. For each stamping instrument, purchased, hired, or altered	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 10s.

New instruments must not be purchased or hired where those used at previous elections are in existence and can be adjusted.

7. For copies of the register	The sum payable by statute for the necessary copies.
8. For adapting the register for the purpose of the election (where necessary)	Actual and necessary cost.
9. For each presiding officer (to include all expenses) (*b*)	Not exceeding £2 10s. 0d.
10. For each clerk at a polling station (to include all expenses.)	Not exceeding £1.

Not more than two clerks may be employed at each polling station.

11. For each person employed in counting votes (to include all expenses)	2s. an hour or part of an hour.
12. For conveyance of ballot boxes to and from polling places	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 1s per mile (*c*)
13. For conveyance of ballot, etc. papers from place of counting to Newington Sessions House	Actual and necessary cost, not exceeding 1s. per mile.
14. General fee for conducting the election, preparing and publishing all notices, preparing and supplying nomination papers, distributing filling up, verifying, and adjudicating on same, conducting poll, declaring result, and making return, to include all expenses for professional and other assistance, travelling expenses, and all other costs, charges	Not exceeding £30 for each electoral division, and an additional £2 for every 1,000 registered electors or fraction thereof above 500 (*d*)

CONTESTED ELECTIONS (*Con.*)

14. (*Continued*).

and expenses whatsoever incurred in and about the conduct of the election, save and except the items for which special provision has been hereinbefore made	

An additional fee not exceeding £25 may, in any special case, be paid to a deputy returning officer for his services in the event of the London County Council being satisfied that owing to exceptional circumstances, the remuneration according to this scale is inadequate (*e*).

UNCONTESTED ELECTIONS.

General fee to include all costs, charges, and expenses whatsoever incurred in and about the conduct of the election	Not less than £5, or more than £15 (*f*).

(*a*) *A very similar scale has been fixed by the London County Council under section* 48 (7) *of the Local Government Act*, 1894, *and the London Government Act*, 1899, *for the elections of metropolitan borough councillors.*

(*b*) *By the scale applicable to metropolitan borough council elections, a charge not exceeding* £3 3*s.* 0*d. is also allowed for each deputy returning officer appointed under Rule* 18 *of the Metropolitan Borough Councillors Election Order*, 1903, *to include all expenses.*

(*c*) *In the scale applicable to metropolitan borough council elections the following words are added :* "*With a minimum of* 2*s. for each polling station.*"

(*d*) *In the scale applicable to metropolitan borough council elections, instead of these words the following appear :* "*At triennial elections of the whole council. Not exceeding* £8 *for each contested ward, and an additional* £1 *for every* 500 *registered electors, or fraction thereof above* 2,000, *in each contested ward. At casual elections not exceeding* £15 *for one contested ward, with a further allowance of* £5 *for each other ward contested simultaneously.*"

(*e*) *The words in italics do not appear in the scale for metropolitan borough council elections.*

(*f*) *In the scale applicable to metropolitan borough council elections the words are* "*Not exceeding* £5 *for each uncontested ward.*"

This chapter has been submitted to an eminent leading authority on Corrupt and Illegal Practices, and has been corrected and approved by him—special attention having been paid to the section dealing with "Interference by Newspapers."

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES.

(1.) CORRUPT PRACTICES.

CORRUPT practice is defined to include bribery, treating, undue influence, personation, or the aiding, abetting, counselling or procuring personation.

Bribery.

Bribery comprises the giving, directly or indirectly, any gift, loan, offer or promise or procurement before, during or after an election of any money, valuable consideration, office, place or employment, to or for any voter, in order to induce such voter to vote, or to refrain from voting. If a bribe has a corrupt intention, the amount is immaterial. The briber and the bribed are equally guilty. It is not necessary for the person bribed to have received anything. Merely to "agree to give" or "offer or promise" is to be guilty of bribery. Motive is the test. It is not necessary that the bribe should be made directly to the voter or to the person sought to be bribed. If the offence is committed through another person and the court is satisfied that it was intended to influence the voter, that is sufficient. Payment to the children of voters may be construed as bribery. The time of bribery is immaterial. If the bribe is given with a view to influencing a voter at a *coming* election, it is bribery whether the offence was committed two years before or on the day before the election. There is little difference in the case of money given after the election if it is proved to be the fulfilment of a corrupt bargain.

The form of bribe is immaterial. For instance, where persons are employed in the election and paid wages in excess of the ruling scale, if a consideration was proved, it would amount to bribery. The court has termed this "colourable employment." On the other hand the mere employment, and payment at reasonable rates, of voters does not amount to bribery. It is bribery to pay a man a day's wages or travelling expenses to enable him to vote. The position of a candidate or sitting member in relation to expenditure in the constituency is fully dealt with in Chapter Nineteen. A bet made by a candidate or any of his agents may be held to be bribery by influencing a voter to vote one way or the other, or not at all. In any event it is better to steer clear of bets or wagers during the election.

General Bribery.

General bribery, no matter from what fund, or by what persons, would avoid an election on the ground that it was not a proceeding pure and free.

Treating.

Treating is defined as the giving of meat, drink, and entertainment with a view to influencing votes. The offence can be committed by the candidate, any one of his agents or any other person: it need not be direct. Both the treater and the treated are equally guilty. The treating must be corrupt and for the purpose of producing an effect on the election. Refreshment given to a speaker who comes down to speak on behalf of a candidate does not amount to treating, but refreshment to canvassers and others actively employed in the election amount to treating. A form of treating very prevalent years ago was to " leave money over the bar " of public houses, or as it was sometimes termed " open public houses." The amount of refreshment is immaterial. A half pint of beer and a sandwich is as bad as a bottle of champagne and a seven course dinner if either are corruptly given. Treating after the election is just as bad as before, if the treating was in fulfilment of a corrupt bargain.

General Treating.

The point to be determined here is whether the practice has prevailed to such an extent as to affect the result of the election. If so, the election would be avoided. It must be shown that the treating operated on the mind of the electors at the time of the poll.

Undue Influence.

Undue influence is defined as making use of or threatening to make use of any force, violence or restraint, or inflicting, or threatening to inflict any temporal or spiritual injury, damage, harm, or loss upon a person in order to induce or compel such person to vote or refrain from voting at any election, or on account of such person having voted or refrained from voting, at an election, or the impeding, or preventing of the free exercise of the franchise by abduction, duress, or any fraudulent device or contrivance. Influence to be undue must be corrupt. Undue influence by employers is always most difficult to prove. It may take the form of dismissal after the election, but considerable evidence is required to prove that the dismissal was on political grounds. The withdrawal of custom stands upon the same footing—it has to be proved that the withdrawal or the threatened withdrawal was because of conflicting political opinions between tradesmen and customer. Intimidation or threats of intimidation even though unsuccessful, if proved, would avoid an election.

General Intimidation.

A candidate or agent must never employ or organise a band of stalwarts generally to intimidate voters, or to affect the result of the election.

Fraudulent Devices.

It is a fraudulent device to issue a poll card or any other bill, etc., containing instructions for voting, marked with a cross opposite one candidate's name and stating *that any other mark would invalidate the vote*, if it were proved that the cards were intended to mislead ignorant voters.

Personation.

Personation is the offence committed by a person applying for a ballot paper in the name of some other person, whether that name be that of a person living or dead, or of a fictitious person, or having voted once at any election applying at the same election for a ballot paper in his own name. The offence of personation is complete upon the *application* for the ballot paper being made. The offence must be knowingly and wilfully committed and with a corrupt mind and intention. The innocent, through erroneous, application for a ballot paper is not personation.

Abetting Personation.

The aiding, abetting, counselling or procuring the commission of personation is also personation. If an agent of the successful candidate knowingly instigates personation the election would be avoided.

False Declaration.

The election agent to a candidate at a parliamentary election, and in the case of certain municipal elections, the candidate, must transmit to the returning officer a true return of election expenses within a certain specified time. Two declarations in the case of a parliamentary and one in the case of a municipal or county council election have to be made and transmitted; in the former case one by the candidate and one by the election agent. The form of return and declarations are fully discussed in Chapter Five. Corrupt practice consists of either candidate or election agent knowingly making a declaration falsely. Either of them are guilty, not only of a corrupt practice but of wilful and corrupt perjury, the maximum punishment for which is seven years' penal servitude and the imposing of certain incapacities.

(2.) ILLEGAL PRACTICES.

Definition.

Illegal practices are defined as follows:—

No payment or contract for payment must be made for the promotion or securing of the election of a candidate on account of conveying electors to or from the poll whether for the hiring of horses, carriages, or vehicles or for railway fares. No payment must be made to an elector for the use of any house, land or building or premises for exhibiting any notice, placard, etc., and no payment must be made for the use of any committee room in excess of the number allowed. The question of conveying electors to the poll is fully dealt with in Chapter Eight, sec. 8. If any illegal payment is made either before, during or after the election, the person making such payment is guilty of an illegal practice and the person receiving such payment is also guilty of an illegal practice.

Where, however, it is the ordinary business of an elector as an advertising agent to exhibit bills, etc., for payment, it is not an illegal practice within the meaning of the act.

Conveyance of Electors.

It is an offence to pay, or contract to pay any money for the conveyance of electors to or from the poll. The payment of railway fares is illegal. It is forbidden for any person *to let, lend or employ* any carriage, horse or animal which he keeps or uses for hire. A person must not hire. Illegal hiring does not avoid the election unless it is committed by the candidate personally or his election agent. There is nothing to prevent a conveyance or animal being let, hired or employed by an elector or electors at their joint cost for the purpose of being conveyed to or from the poll.

Exhibition of Bills.

It is an offence to pay or contract to pay to any elector any sum for the exhibition of bills, posters, etc., unless it is the ordinary business of the elector as an advertising agent or billposter. With the exception of the above proviso it is an illegal practice to make such payment to any elector irrespective of the motive. It would appear lawful to pay non-electors for the right of exhibiting bills provided such payment is not made for influencing the votes of electors.

Distribution of Bills.

It is legal to occasionally employ persons to distribute bills, so long as the authorised maximum number of messengers is not exceeded. The agent must observe that he cannot employ for payment any person whether elector or otherwise to exhibit or post bills and notices, except through a recognised advertising agent or billposter, but the distribution of bills and addresses by messengers appear to be quite legal, so also is the occasional employment of persons to deliver handbills. It must, however, be borne in mind that the payment for such distribution is a charge under "Messengers," and as the number of messengers employed in an election is strictly limited, no persons must be engaged in excess of the authorised maximum.

Committee Rooms.

It is an offence to pay or contract to pay for any committee room in excess of the number allowed. The number legally allowed in the case of a parliamentary election is

Counties.	Boroughs.
In a county or a division of a county, one central committee room, one for each polling district, one additional for every complete 500 electors in such polling district over and above the first 500.	In a borough or division of a borough, one committee room and if the number of electors exceed 500 a number of committee rooms not exceeding the number of one for every complete 500, and one for the surplus, if any. (It will be noted that in boroughs or divisions of a borough, no provision is made for a "Central Committee Room.")

In the case of a municipal or county council election, if the election is for a borough, the number is limited to one committee room for the borough, and if the election is for a ward, one committee room for the ward, and if the number of electors in such borough or ward exceeds 2,000, one additional committee room for every 2,000 electors and incomplete part of 2,000 electors over and above the first 2,000. In the case of counties the following committee rooms are allowed to be paid for:—

(1) One central committee room.
(2) One committee room for each polling district.
(3) Where the number of electors in any polling district exceeds 500, one additional committee room for every complete 500 electors over and above the first 500.

It is desirable to state that the above applies to the number of committee rooms allowed to be *paid for*. There seems to be no limit to the number which can be lent *free*. Committee rooms cannot be held on licensed premises, any premises where drink is sold or where refreshment is sold for consumption on the premises, or any public elementary school receiving a parliamentary grant. Rooms on licensed premises and in political clubs may be used if there is no direct communication with any part of the premises in which any intoxicating liquor or refreshment is sold or supplied. It is prudent to steer clear of such premises. Rooms in a schoolhouse are prohibited.

Paying Election Expenses Except Through Agent.

It is an illegal practice for any person (including the candidate) to make a payment, advance or deposit either before, during, or after the election, in respect of expenses incurred on account of the election, except through the election agent. Any person making such illegal payment before, during, or after an election is guilty of an illegal practice, and any person who knowingly receives such payment, or is a party to such contract is also guilty of an illegal practice. The object of this section is to secure that no payment must be made except by the election agent. A person may pay out of his own money any small sum legally incurred by him provided such sum is not repaid to him.

What is a "Small Sum"?

The payment of a small sum must not be a cloak for bribery or for money spent in a corrupt or illegal way. The expenses of a speaker who goes down to address a meeting in support of a candidate whether he be a personal friend or otherwise may be paid by the speaker himself, and do not form part of the election expenses. On the other hand a candidate is entitled to accord reasonable hospitality to his speaker such as a dinner on arrival, bed and breakfast at the hotel, and reasonable expenses such as railway fares, provided that any such sum is included in the personal expenses of the candidate.

Interference by Newspapers.

A case of very considerable importance to candidates, agents and newspaper proprietors was decided on April 3, 1922, on the question of whether a newspaper is entitled to issue posters or bills having reference to an election, or to promote or procure the election of a candidate by such methods without the election agent's consent. The point at issue was whether under Section 34 of the Representation of the People Act, 1918, the newspaper is in the same position as a political or other association. Hitherto it has been the policy of certain newspapers to take advantage of an election and advocate the return of a certain candidate when his policy coincides with the policy of the newspaper, and in the past many newspapers have distributed free of charge copies of their newspaper with the two-fold object, namely, of increasing their sales and furthering the cause of the candidate who approximates to their ideal.

The Speaker's Conference on the framing of the Representation of the People Act, 1918, had its attention drawn to the growing and mischievous practice of these great newspapers interfering in elections and promoting the cause of any particular candidate, and as a result Section 34 of the Representation of the People Act, 1918, was included in the Act. The words of the section are so definite that the proverbial "coach and four" cannot be driven through them, for it says that a person "other than an election agent shall not incur any expenses on account of . . . issuing publications for promoting or procuring the election of any candidate . . . unless he is authorised in writing to do so by the election agent . . . and any expense incurred on account of such purpose and authorised by the election agent shall be duly returned as part of the candidate's election expenses."

In the case under review, that of *Rex* versus the *Daily Mirror*, it was shown that the posters issued by this newspaper had reference to the election, that they should have been authorised by the agent, and that the expenses should have been included in the agent's return of election expenses. The posters did not bear an imprint beyond the title of the newspaper, and on that ground the proprietors of the newspaper were convicted. The case in the King's Bench Division turned upon the point as to whether a newspaper was entitled to issue a poster "having reference to an election" even although the poster itself referred to the contents of the paper. Posters, some with the photograph of the candidate, were worded as follows :—

"SUETER IS THE HOUSEWIVES' CANDIDATE."
"SUETER WILL STOP WASTE."
"SUETER WINNING IN EAST HERTS."

The judge in the court below held that even if the posters were newspaper contents bills, and were substantially election posters the law would be infringed, as they were directed to promoting or procuring the election of a candidate.

In the Court of Criminal Appeal the conviction of the Company was quashed on what the judge termed an "attractive technicality," although the conviction of a servant of the Company was upheld, and the Court refused an application on his behalf against disqualification for voting and holding public office for a number of years on the ground that the *Company's* appeal having been successful did not affect the conviction of the "aider and abetter." The Lord Chief Justice said he "regarded the offence as a serious matter."

It appeared that a considerable number of the bills referred to above were posted by a servant of the *Daily Mirror*, who was not an advertising agent in the ordinary course of his business. He was certainly not an advertising agent in the constituency in which the election was being held. A further number of bills were posted by the local billposter who was an advertising agent in the ordinary course of his business. The point has not yet been decided as to whether the local billposter is liable to conviction for a corrupt practice in posting bills which had reference to the election, but which according to the evidence of the election agent of the candidate were unauthorised by him, and were not included in his return of election expenses, neither did they bear upon the face thereof the name and address of the printer and publisher. Further the point has yet to be decided whether the printer of such bills, irrespective of the question of imprint, is not guilty of a corrupt practice for printing or causing to be printed, bills, posters, etc., having reference to an election, but unauthorised by the agent, and therefore not included in his return of election expenses. The section aims at preventing distribution by unauthorised persons of posters, literature, etc., intended to influence the result of an election, and the person who knowingly provides money for any such payment is guilty of a corrupt practice. The newspaper in question was a limited company, and the phrase in Section 34 is "person," but the Interpretation Act, 1889, defines the term " person " as including a body corporate, which includes newspaper proprietors, a company, or other similar body.

Other Outside Interference.

Section 34 of the Representation of the People Act, 1918, also aims at preventing the incurring of expenses by unauthorised persons in the shape of political and other organisations furthering the views of any particular candidate. Persons holding public meetings or issuing advertisements or publications unless the expenditure of such is authorised by the election agent, and being authorised is included in his return of election expenses, are guilty of corrupt practice. Before the passing of the 1918 Act, it was usual for central and local organisations to flood a constituency with handbills, posters, and speakers in support of one of the candidates. Section 34 of the 1918 Act prevents the printing and distribution of such literature by unauthorised persons. In short, this section gives an opportunity to the electorate to decide the election on the merits of the candidates and not upon the amount of money or influence which any candidate can bring to bear upon the electors. No political or trade association can urge its members to vote or work for a candidate unless the cost of any circular or the circulation thereof is authorised by the agent and included in his return of election expenses. An election agent cannot adopt unauthorised expenditure.

Illegal Payments.

It is an illegal practice knowingly to provide money for the payment of any expenses incurred in a parliamentary election in excess of the maximum or for the replacing any money expended in such payment or expenses, and any person so doing shall be guilty of illegal payment. An illegal payment becomes an illegal practice when committed by the candidate or his agent. The election agent is bound to observe the maximum scale for election expenses, and the object of the provision now under review is to prevent any other person from doing what the candidate and the election agent are prohibited from doing.

Corrupt Withdrawal.

It is a corrupt practice if any person corruptly induces or procures any other person to withdraw his candidature, in consideration of any payment or promise of payment. Such payment or promise is an illegal practice, and if the candidate or his agent are a party, the election may be avoided.

False Statement of Withdrawal.

If any person before or during an election knowingly publishes a false statement of the withdrawal of a candidate at such election for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of another candidate he is guilty of an illegal practice, and if the offence is committed by the candidate or his agent the election would be avoided but not otherwise. Publication of false news must be knowingly done to be an offence.

√ Bands, Ribbons, etc.

Illegal payments under this heading include payments on account of bands of music, torches, flags, banners, cockades, ribbons, or other marks of distinction. All persons concerned in making such payment or in receiving same are guilty of an illegal payment. It has been decided that flags lent without payment are legal. The giving of ribbons, favors or other marks of distinction is prohibited. Any person who so gives or provides is liable to a penalty of £2 for each offence when sued by a common informer. Giving or providing for payment bands of music, torches, flags, or banners is an illegal payment, although it would appear that a band which welcomes a candidate or takes part in a demonstration on behalf of a candidate, provided they are not paid or promised payment, is legal. The giving away of cards bearing the photograph of a candidate for the purpose of putting in hats or pinning on coats is illegal. Such cards have been held to be marks of distinction.

Agents in Excess of Authorised Number.

It is illegal to employ persons *for payment* at any election in excess of the number allowed. The person employing such persons and the persons employed, if they knew they were engaged or employed contrary to the law, shall be guilty of an illegal practice. It is, of course, legal to employ volunteers provided such persons give their services gratuitously; refreshments, however, constitute payment. The number of persons which can be legally employed for payment are given below:—

PARLIAMENTARY.		MUNICIPAL AND COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.
COUNTY ELECTIONS.	BOROUGH ELECTIONS.	
1. One election agent	One election agent	—
2. One sub-agent for each polling district.	—	—
3. One polling or personation agent in each polling station.	One polling or personation agent in each polling station.	One polling or personation agent in each polling station.
4. One clerk and one messenger for the central committee room when the	One clerk and one messenger for every	Two clerks or messengers, or one clerk and

AGENTS IN EXCESS OF AUTHORISED NUMBER (*Continued*).

PARLIAMENT.		MUNICIPAL AND COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.
COUNTY ELECTIONS.	BOROUGH ELECTIONS.	
number of electors does not exceed 5,000, and where it does exceed 5,000 one additional clerk and messenger for each complete 5,000, and if there is a number of electors over and above any complete 5,000 or 5,000's then another clerk, or messenger for such number, although not amounting to a complete 5,000. In addition, one clerk and messenger may be employed for every complete 500 or 500's provided that if there be a number over and above a complete 500, one clerk and one messenger shall be allowed for such number. (The number of clerks and messengers so allowed may be employed in any polling district where their service may be required.)	complete 500 electors, and if there is a number over and above any complete 500 or 500's, an additional clerk and messenger may be employed.	one messenger for a borough or a ward; and if the number of electors exceeds 2,000 an additional clerk or messenger for every 1,000 electors and incomplete part of 1,000 electors over the first 2,000.

A regular clerk of the election agent employed without increase of salary or payment to address envelopes and to do other election work is not a paid clerk. It is illegal to pay stewards to keep order at a candidate's meeting. If illegal employment is committed by the candidate or agent it amounts to illegal practice.

Payments in excess of maximum.

No sum shall be paid and no expense incurred by the candidate or his election agent in respect of the conduct and management of the election in excess of the maximum amounts given below.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—COUNTIES.

The expenses must not exceed sevenpence for each elector on the register. This sum is *exclusive* of the personal expenses of the candidate, and the fee paid to the election agent, which must not exceed £75. Any payment to the agent for his services, in addition to the statutory fee must be taken into account in the maximum expenditure. The maximum of sevenpence per elector is exclusive of personal expenses of the candidate up to £100 (which need not be vouched for), but anything over that sum must be paid by the election agent. "Miscellaneous" expenses must not exceed £200.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—BOROUGHS.

Expenses not to exceed fivepence for each elector on the register. This sum is exclusive of the personal expenses of the candidate, and the fee paid to the election agent, which must not exceed £50. Any payment to the agent for his services in addition to the statutory fee must be taken into account in the maximum expenditure. Personal expenses of the candidate up to £100, need not be vouched for, but anything over that sum must be paid by the election agent. "Miscellaneous" expenses must not exceed £200.

JOINT CANDIDATES—PARLIAMENTARY.

Where there are two or more joint candidates, the maximum amount of expenses shall for each joint candidate be the amount produced by multiplying a single candidate's maximum by one and a half, and dividing the result by the number of candidates.

MUNICIPAL AND COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

The maximum amount is the sum of £25, and if the number of electors in a borough or ward exceeds 500, an additional 3d. per elector above the first 500 electors. No election agent is provided for in any local government election. Where there are two or more joint candidates the maximum expenses shall for each joint candidate be reduced by one-fourth, and in the case of more than two joint candidates by one-third. There is no maximum stated for elections of urban and rural district councillors, guardians and parish councillors, or metropolitan borough councillors.

CITY OF LONDON.

In the case of election by liverymen in common hall, the maximum amount is £40 if a poll is not demanded, and if a poll is demanded, not exceeding £250. In the case of election of aldermen or councilmen not exceeding £25, and if the number of electors in the ward exceeds 500 an additional 3d. for each elector above the first 500. As to joint candidates in the City of London, see above under "Municipal and County Council Elections."

If the offence is committed by the candidate or agent it is an illegal practice.

Prohibited Persons Voting.

It is an illegal practice for any person to vote, or to induce or procure any other person to vote, knowing that he or she as such are prohibited from voting. Prohibited persons include those who have been found guilty of corrupt practices, illegal practices, any convict, unless he has received a free pardon, aliens, and all other persons prohibited from voting by the common law. If any such person votes, or any person induces such person to vote knowing that such person falls within such prohibitions, an illegal practice is committed, and when the illegal practice is committed by the candidate or his agent the election is avoided.

Printing.

Every bill, poster, or placard having reference to an election must bear on the face thereof the name and address of the printer and publisher. Any person causing such a bill to be printed, published or posted, or printing, publishing or posting same shall be guilty of an illegal practice.

The question of the issue of bills or posters by a newspaper, and not bearing the printer and publisher's name and address is fully dealt with under "Interference by Newspapers" on page 470. The printer is liable to a fine of £100 also.

Payments out of Specified Time.

It is illegal to pay a claim out of the specified time. It is illegal to pay a claim which is barred.

Return of Election Expenses.

In a parliamentary election the election agent is required by law to make and transmit to the returning officer a return of expenses within 35 days of the declaration, and in the case of municipal and county council elections the candidate must transmit them within 28 days.

The returns must be accompanied by the statutory declaration. Failure to make the return and declaration amount to an illegal practice. Knowingly making a false return or declaration is a corrupt practice and wilful and corrupt perjury. In the case of a municipal election where no election agent is allowed, it is the duty of the candidate to make and transmit the return and declaration.

If such persons who are required to make and transmit the returns and declarations fail to do so without authorised excuse, they are guilty of an illegal practice. The court will require strong evidence that the act of omission arose from inadvertence or accidental miscalculation, and not from want of good faith, before relief will be given.

Employment of Corrupt Agent.

A candidate must not knowingly and personally engage any person who within seven years previous to such engagement has been found guilty or reported guilty of corrupt practice. If such offence is committed the election of such candidate shall be avoided. A person who is scheduled for corrupt practices is incapacitated for seven years only. After that time it is no offence for the candidate to employ him, but it is prudent for a candidate to steer clear of such a person. The section of the Act applies only to parliamentary elections, and there is no similar provision for any municipal election.

What is an Agent?

It is not necessary in order to prove agency to show that the agent (except in the case of an election agent) was actually appointed by the candidate. If a candidate accepts the service of a person, agency is implied and ratified. Canvassing on behalf of a candidate would in certain circumstances constitute agency, provided the canvasser was authorised to canvass. On the other hand a candidate is not liable for the acts of unauthorised persons. An agent need not be paid. A candidate who adopts an association or committee as part of his election organisation is liable for the acts of the members.

The following table of corrupt and illegal practices at parliamentary and other elections is believed to be the most complete table so far published. Punishments, incapacities, and penalties in a civil court for all known offences are shown, and where they apply or do not apply to both classes of election the fact is stated. Those offences where the Court has no power to grant relief are also indicated. It should be part of the stock-in-trade of an election agent to keep printed copies of this table for distribution to all those engaged in an election in whatever capacity.

CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES AT PARLIAMENTARY AND OTHER ELECTIONS.

Practices which avoid the election of either Members of Parliament or Councillors.

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
1. Corrupt practices, if committed by the candidate or any agent	As set out for	Nos. 40 and 41.	
2. Illegal practice, do. 3. Illegal practices, if committed by the candidate or the election agent	Fine of £100	Incapable of being registered and voting at any election for five years in the constituency where the illegal practice was committed, or in the borough in the case of a local election.	
4. General corruption, by whomsoever committed.*	As set out	for No. 5.	
5. General bribery by the common law.*	12 months imprisonment with or without hard labour, or a fine of £200.	Deprivation of the right of voting for seven years. Removal from and disqualification from any public office	

Corrupt and Illegal Practices (*Continued*).

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
6. General treating.*	As set out	for No. 5.	
7. General intimidation*	As set out	for No. 5.	
8. Paying for conveyance of voters to or from the poll.	Fine of £100 (see No. 35)	Nil	Note.—If committed by an agent the election may be rendered void.
9. Paying electors for placarding, etc.	Fine of £100 (see No. 35)	Nil	Note.—If committed by an agent the election may be rendered void. The receiver is also guilty.
10. Paying for committee room in excess of number authorised	Fine of £100 (see No. 35)	Nil	Note.—If committed by an agent the election may be rendered void. The election agent or sub-agent alone can hire committee rooms.
11. Bribery*	One year with or without hard labour, or fine of £200, and	As set out for No. 15	
12. Treating			
13. Undue Influence			

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
14. Personation or aiding, abetting, or inciting to the commission of personation*	Two years hard labour and	As set out for No. 15.	
15. Knowingly making a false declaration as to election expenses	Seven years penal servitude, and	1. Incapacity to sit in House for seven years. 2. Incapacity of being registered as an elector and voting at *any* election for seven years 3. Incapable of holding any public or judicial office for 7 years. 4. If a J.P., barrister, etc., removal from office, etc. 5. If committed by the election agent the candidate loses his seat.	

CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES (*Continued*).

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
16. Publishing a false statement as to withdrawal of a candidate or any false statement of fact in relation to the personal character or conduct of a candidate	A fine of £100	Incapacity to vote for five years	NOTE.—If committed by an agent the election may be rendered void.
17. Providing money for payment prohibited or in excess of maximum allowed	As set out for Nos. 2 and 3.		
18. Letting, lending, or employing a hackney carriage or other vehicles or animals usually kept for hire for conveying voters to or from the poll	Fine of £100 (see No. 35)	Nil	NOTE.—Persons paying or receiving money for conveyance of electors to or from the poll are guilty of an illegal practice.
19. Corrupt arrangement to secure withdrawal of candidate	As set out for Nos. 2 and 3.		NOTE.—If committed by an agent or candidate the election may be rendered void.

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
20. Payments on account of bands, torches, flags, banners, etc.	Fine of £100 (see No. 35)	Nil	
21. Employing and paying persons in excess of number allowed	Fine of £100 (see No. 35)	Nil	NOTE.—No person can be employed for payment except by the agent. The number is limited by the Representation of the People Act, 1918.
22. Publishing bill or placard without printer's name	Fine of £100		NOTE.—The agent alone must issue printed matter, unless he gives consent in writing and the cost is included in his return of election expenses.
23. Using as a committee room licensed premises, places where refreshments are sold or public elementary schools.	Fine of £100		

Corrupt and Illegal Practices (*Continued*).

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
24. Paying any election expense which is barred	As set out	for Nos. 2 and 3.	
25. Paying any election expense after the time limit for payment	As set out	for Nos. 2 and 3.	
26. Failing to make return of election expenses within proper time	As set out	for Nos. 2 and 3.	
27. Incurring expense in excess of authorised maximum	Fine of £100 (see No. 35)	Nil	
28. Inducing a prohibited person to vote, or being prohibited and voting	Fine of £100	Incapacity to vote for five years	NOTE.—If committed by an agent, the election may be rendered void.
29. Knowingly employing a corrupt agent by the candidate*			NOTE.—The election of the candidate shall be void.

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
30. Illegal practices, if committed by the candidate, or with his knowledge and consent (*a*)	As set out	for Nos. 2 and 3.	See also Nos. 40 and 41.
31. Corrupt or illegal practices where so extensive that they affected the result of the election (*a*)	As set out	for No. 5.	
32. Corrupt arrangement for the withdrawal of a petition	One year's imprisonment and a fine of £200	Nil	
33. Election agent failing to make return of expenses after being ordered by the court	Fine of £500 (£50 in the case of a councillor).	Nil	

CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES (*Continued*).

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
34. Providing or giving cockades, torches, etc., ribbons, etc., to any person in the constituency	Fine of £100		And 40s. and full costs to any person who sues for same. NOTE.—Payment for bands of music is punishable by a £100 fine.
35. Illegal payment, hiring or employment	Fine of £100	Nil	
36. Returning officer or his deputy partner, or clerk acting as agent for any candidate	Fine or imprisonment for a common law misdemeanor	Nil	
37. A member sitting and voting after the expiration of time limit for transmitting return of election expenses, when the return is not made			£100 a day to any person who sues for same. In the case of councillors £50 for every day he sits or votes to any person who may sue for same.

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
38. Payment of election expenses except through election agent (*c*)	Fine of £100 or six months imprisonment		NOTE.—See Section 34, Representation of the People Act, 1918.
39. Candidate reported or convicted by an election court as personally guilty of any corrupt practice	In addition to any punishment or incapacity he becomes incapable for ever being elected or sitting in the House of Commons for the constituency in which he offended. In the case of a candidate at a local election he becomes incapable for ever holding any corporate office in the borough in which he offended.		
40. Candidate reported as personally guilty of any illegal practice	Is incapable for the next seven years of sitting in the House of Commons for the constituency in which he offended.		

Corrupt and Illegal Practices (*Continued*).

OFFENCE.	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT.	INCAPACITIES.	PENALTIES IN CIVIL COURT.
41. Candidate reported as guilty by his agent of any corrupt practice in any local election	Is incapable of holding	any corporate office in the	borough for three years.
42. Breaking up or inciting others to break up or prevent a public meeting being conducted	Fine or imprisonment	Incapacity to vote for five years	Note.—If the offence is committed between the issue of the writ and the return of the member, the maximum punishment is a fine of £100. If committed by an agent, the election may be rendered void.

(*a*) Refers to offences at local elections only.

(*b*) No mention of this offence at local elections.

(*c*) Parliamentary elections only.

* The court has no power in these cases to grant relief at all.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.

RULES AND PROCEDURE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY way of introduction to this chapter, I propose in the first instance to describe the House of Commons by taking my readers on what I will term a personally conducted tour of the premises. Before doing so, however, one or two notes of interest will probably prove useful.

It hardly seems possible that the present democratic assembly did not exist 80 years ago, and that at that time such towns as Birmingham and Manchester did not send representatives to Westminster. Old Sarum, a place two miles north of Salisbury, an old Roman encampment devoid of any building or population, returned two Members of Parliament. One can, therefore, imagine what Mr. Gladstone had in his mind when he referred in the House of Commons to a measure which "legislated for Old Sarum."

Two other members were returned for a park in which there was not even a dwelling-house. Another 300 members were returned as "representatives of the people" by just over 150 persons.

The House of Commons has been reformed four times during the last century—in 1832, 1867, 1884-5, and in 1918. The first Act admitted the middle classes to the franchise, and broke the power of the aristocracy. The 1867 Act brought in the lower middle and shop-keeping classes as electors. The 1884-5 Act enfranchised the working classes, turned the House of Commons into a powerful and democratic assembly, and made it the centre of authority. The 1918 Act is probably the greatest measure for good government ever placed upon the Statute book. It marks the greatest advance ever known in our system of democratic election.

In 1832 there was no register of electors and the voter had to claim his vote at the election. In 1867 a great advance was made by lowering the money qualification of voters, the franchise being extended to occupiers of dwelling-houses and lodgers. The year 1884 saw the enfranchisement of other classes, both in county and borough, and gave the vote to the man who occupied a dwelling-house which belonged to his employer. In 1832 there were 658 members of Parliament; in 1867, 658; in 1884-5, 670; and in 1910, 670. Now there are 707, if one includes all the Irish Members, but after the next general election this number will be reduced by 75. This is due to the fact that Ulster will only send about 30 members to the Imperial Parliament.

The three Acts already quoted enfranchised between them about four million electors, but the 1918 Act brought the total to well over sixteen millions. The re-distribution of seats in the House brought about by the 1918 Act increased the number of members returned to 707. It is impossible to say at the time of writing what effect the Irish Free State Bill will have upon the membership of the House, or whether the loss of about 80 members from that part of Ireland about to be included in the Irish Free State will necessitate another re-distribution of seats.

Up to the passing of the 1918 Act, members represented constituencies differing widely from the point of view of numbers. One member sat for Kilkenny, representing 1,700 electors, and Sir John Bethell was returned to the House to voice the views of close upon 60,000 electors, in a constituency with 400,000 inhabitants. The redistribution of seats, however, was based upon the broad lines of one member to every 70,000 population in England, Scotland, and Wales, and one member to every 43,000 population in Ireland.

The London boroughs gained three additional members, other boroughs thirty-three members, forty-four old boroughs disappeared, and thirty-one new ones were created. The counties returned 372 members (five less than before), the Universities secured six additional seats, and the newer universities obtained representation. England sent thirty-one additional members, while Wales, Scotland, and Ireland each sent two additional members.

All the polls at a General Election are now taken on the same day, and the returning officers' costs of the election are borne by the State, subject to a deposit by each candidate of £150, which is returned to him should he secure one-eighth of the total votes in the poll. It will be seen, therefore, that the House as at present constituted can fairly claim to be representative of the people. Generally speaking, the voice of any member of the House of Commons is equal to that of any other member, in the sense that they all speak for approximately the same number of electors.

Payment of returning officers' election expenses by the State gives opportunity to a candidate, however poor he may be, to place himself before the electors. The new scale of the maximum amount of expense which may be incurred in an election has brought the cost of elections within the reach of all persons who may reasonably aspire to Parliamentary honours.

The number of Members who understand the rules and procedure of the House are naturally few, and one eminent Member has put the figure as low as twenty. Whatever the number, it is still a fact that only a small percentage of Members are conversant with the rules of the House. With due deference I am venturing to describe every form of business taking place in the House, in the hope that such description may prove of service to new and prospective Members, and also to not a few old ones.

The House of Commons.

Let me now take the reader round the precincts of the House, and point out the many facilities and amenities accorded to Members.

The entrance for Members is across Palace Yard, and under the archway in the right hand corner. On the way up the stairs we come to the Cloak Room, where every Member has a peg allotted to him. We then reach the Inner or Members' Lobby, in the corners of which are the Whips' Offices, the Post Office, entrance to the Special Galleries, the Vote Office. There is a Strangers' Refreshment Bar in this Lobby. Leading out of the Inner Lobby, in a direct line with the entrance to the Chamber itself, is a corridor leading to the Central Hall or Strangers' Lobby. It is here worth noting that the Speaker in the House of Commons, and the Lord Chancellor on the Woolsack in the House of Lords, directly face each other in a straight line.

Vote Office.

The Vote Office is one of the first places a new Member should make his way to, and there register his name and the address to which he requires all papers sent. From the Vote Office Members can obtain copies of all printed documents issued by the House, and also two useful little books, one on rules and procedure, and the other on standing orders. A Member is entitled to any number of copies up to 25 of any printed bill.

Post Office.

The Post Office is situate in the Inner or Members' Lobby, and is in charge of an officer from the South-Western District Office. It is a Post Office in the fullest sense of the word, and stamps, postal orders, etc., etc., can be purchased there. The Post Office is charged with the duty of re-directing Members' letters from the list of addresses supplied by the Vote Office. The telegraph and telephone side of the Post Office is conducted from rooms in the Central Hall or Strangers' Lobby.

The Galleries.

Members should make themselves fully acquainted with the Strangers' Galleries at the earliest possible moment, in view of the demand now made upon Members for admission to the House by constituents up from the country "seeing the sights." The first gallery over the clock on the left is reserved for peers, and that on the right for distinguished strangers, such as Ambassadors or Foreign Attaches. The second row of the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery is called the Special Gallery. Immediately over the clock is the seat reserved for the Prince of Wales or any other member of the Royal Family who is a Member of the House of Lords. Immediately behind these Galleries is the Members' or Strangers' Gallery, accommodating about 120 people, to which both male and female strangers are now admitted. The Sergeant-at-Arms has a small gallery, behind the Strangers' Gallery, on the right. Immediately over the Speaker is the Press Gallery, and above that on the right is the Ladies' Gallery, with Mrs. Speaker's private box to the left. Ladies are admitted to the Ladies' Gallery half-an-hour before the House sits, whereas strangers are not admitted to the Members' Gallery until after the Speaker is in the Chair. The reason for this is that the Ladies' Gallery is not technically in the House.

Members' or Strangers' Gallery.

The entrance for strangers is by the doorway in Old Palace Yard, opposite St. Margaret's Church, which, by the way, is the official Church to the House of Commons. Although it is contrary to standing orders to admit strangers, and the publication of a report of the proceedings of the House is a breach of privilege, strangers are now freely admitted on application at the Ticket Office. Members ballot for tickets admitting at 2.45, and these are issued subject to their conduct being vouched for by a Member. Members apply for Special and Under the Gallery Tickets. Strangers can, however, still be excluded from the House, and it is sufficient for a Member to " spy strangers " for the Speaker to be bound to order them to withdraw. The only instance in living memory of strangers being asked to withdraw since 1878 was during the Secret Sessions of 1916 and 1917.

Strangers are now allowed to remain in the Galleries during a division, but they must withdraw from the Members' Lobby directly the Division Bell rings.

Soldiers and sailors in uniform are now admitted to the Galleries. Tickets of admission to the Strangers' Gallery can be obtained by direct application to the Ticket Office in St. Stephen's Hall, or through a Member. In addition to this Gallery, tickets are issued to Members for the Special Gallery by the Admission Order Office six days in advance. They are issued to Members during the sitting of the House by personal application to the Sergeant-at-Arms. Tickets for "Under the Gallery," *i.e.*, a small gallery on the floor of the House, are issued in the same way.

There is a small gallery behind the Speaker's Chair for the accommodation of Ministers' secretaries and officials of the Public Departments, and this is occupied entirely by those members of the staff whose duties are to "brief" Ministers on the occasion of the introduction of important Government Bills, on Supply Days, or when Ministers are taking part in debate.

Ballot for Tickets.

Ballots for tickets of admission are held one week previous to the day for which the tickets can be used. The ballot is held in the mornings and made by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Members desirous of balloting write their names in a book for the Strangers' Gallery, and place their names in a box for the Ladies' Gallery, in the "No" Lobby by the "Pair" Sheet. Ballots take place for tickets for all Strangers' Galleries, except the Ambassadors and Distinguished Strangers' Galleries.

Orders to View.

Members must have a pink order to view before showing strangers round while the House is sitting.

Orders to view the House can be obtained from the Sergeant-at-Arms, and these entitle visitors to be shown round the House, which is open on Saturdays throughout the year, and on Easter and Whit-Mondays and Tuesdays unless the House is sitting on these days. Visitors can practically see the whole of the Palace of Westminster on these days between the hours of 10.0 a.m. and 4.0 p.m. Tickets are obtainable at the entrance near the Victoria Tower.

Press Gallery.

This is a gallery composed of little compartments over the Speaker's Chair and occupying the whole width of the House. It was built in 1835, prior to which time no special provision had been made for representatives of the Press. The only way they could obtain admission was by sitting in the Strangers' Galleries. To-day, however, well over 200 representatives of the leading newspapers are given accommodation in the Press Gallery. The Press Gallery Club resembles the inside of a highly organised newspaper office, and with it all the advantages of the Press Club in Fleet Street. Catering for the representatives of the Press is carried out by the Kitchen Committee.

Pressmen are still regarded as "strangers," technically, and it is still an offence for a newspaper to publish a report of the debates and proceedings of the House, or any Committee thereof, or any comments thereon. Since 1909, however, the debates have been reported verbatim, and issued by an official reporting staff controlled by the Sessional Committee on Publications and Debates.

The Administration.

The administration consists of the following office holders, those in the Cabinet being marked by an asterisk :—

*Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury.
*Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House.
*Lord President of the Council.
*Lord High Chancellor.
*Home Secretary.
Under Secretary for the Home Department.
*Foreign Secretary.
Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Foreign Office.
*Colonial Secretary.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Colonial Office.
*Secretary of State for War.
Under Secretary to the War Office.
Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the War Office.
Parliamentary Under Secretary for Air.
*Secretary for India.
Under Secretary for India.
*First Lord of the Admiralty.
Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty.
*President of the Board of Trade.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.
*Minister of Health.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health.
*President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries
Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.
*Minister for Education.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education.
*Minister of Labour.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour.
Minister of Pensions.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions.
*Minister of Transport.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport.
Chancellor to the Duchy of Lancaster.
*First Commissioner of Works.
Attorney-General.

Solicitor-General.
Postmaster-General.
Assistant Post-Master-General.
Paymaster-General.
*Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Joint Parliamentary Secretaries to the Treasury.
Joint Financial Secretaries to the Treasury.
Lord Commissioner to the Treasury.
*Secretary for Scotland.
Lord Advocate for Scotland.
Solicitor-General for Scotland.
Lord Steward of the Household.
Treasurer of the Household.
Lord Chamberlain.
Vice-Chamberlain.
Captain of the Gentlemen at Arms.
Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard.
Master of the Horse.
Lords in Waiting.

The Cabinet.

The Cabinet has no constitutional recognition, and is really a body chosen by the Prime Minister to assist him in the Administration. The Prime Minister takes precedence above all his colleagues except the Lord Chancellor. The number of Members of the Executive vary from time to time from 60 to 90 persons. The Administration can be dismissed by the Sovereign. The Cabinet is really a committee or inner portion of the Administration, and exercises supreme authority. Its deliberations are always considered confidential and remain secret.

The selection of members of the Cabinet rests with the Prime Minister, subject to Royal approval. The number of members of the Cabinet vary from 13 to 25.

There is no salary attached to the office of Premiership; hence the Prime Minister takes the position of First Lord of the Treasury. Certain of the Ministers are entitled to official residences, and, with certain restrictions, to pensions. There are, however, only four political pensions. Usually ministers receive no pension.

The House Described.

The House includes Libraries, Writing Room, Newspaper Room, Secretaries' Room, Dining Rooms, Tea Rooms, Smoking Rooms, Chess Room, Dressing Rooms, Hairdressing Room, Bath Rooms, and the Terrace, and various offices such as the Typewriting Office, Telephone Office, Vote Office, Public Bill Office, Private Bill Office, Committee, and Conference Rooms, all of which are described hereunder.

The Libraries.

There are five libraries in all, situated at the end of the lobby leading out of the Inner Lobby. In two of the rooms silence must be maintained; no smoking is permitted in three, but is allowed in the other two. The libraries contain a complete collection of parliamentary papers, blue books, "Hansard," etc., etc., since 1801, and many thousands of volumes of political and parliamentary literature. The librarian and his assistants are veritable encyclopædias of knowledge. Information on history, politics, literature and statistics can be gleaned from them on demand. A Member will find the library a most complete bureau of information, and quotations from Coriolanus will be supplied as promptly as the latest return relating to trade and navigation in the United

Kingdom. Before Members move for returns they should consult the librarian who will state whether the information desired is already available. Parliamentary Papers are delivered to the Library during a recess, all papers ordered to " lie on the table " or ordered to be printed can be seen in the Library, and such papers as are not printed are placed in the Library. Members can take friends into the Library any day up to 2.45, but cannot leave them there at any time. The Libraries are open during a recess from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. and on Sundays for the same time.

Writing Rooms.

The Writing Rooms are situated in and over the division lobbies. Members can also write in the libraries. No strangers are allowed in the Writing Rooms, and smoking is prohibited therein. There is another small Writing Room on the Terrace front. Stationery is provided for use of Members to be used on the premises—it being contrary to rules for Members to take free stationery from the premises. Stationery for use away from the House can be purchased from the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Newspaper Room.

The Newspaper Room is next to the Tea Room, and all current daily papers are to be seen there. They are also taken in the Strangers' Smoke Room downstairs. Yesterday's papers are available in the Tea Room. Smoking is not allowed in the Newspaper Room.

Secretaries' Rooms.

This is on the left hand side of St. Stephen's Hall just past the office where tickets of admission to the Galleries are obtained. Secretaries of private Members are permitted to do their work there.

Dining and Tea Rooms.

The Members' Dining Room is situated in the Library corridor. No strangers are allowed in this room. The Ministers' Dining Room is on the left of the Members' Dining Room by Cromwell's bust. In this room is a Ministers' table and an Opposition table. No strangers are allowed in this room. The Strangers' Dining Room is situated in the corridor leading out of the lower waiting hall. Members are allowed to take their male friends in to meals. The Members' Tea Room is situated next to the Newspaper Room. No strangers are allowed therein when the House is sitting. The Harcourt Room is situated down stairs on the Terrace level and here Members may take their lady and gentleman friends to lunch, tea, and dinner. The Terrace Dining Rooms are situated in the corridor leading to the Harcourt Room. Here a Member can entertain a small party of friends to a meal.

Smoking Rooms.

There are two smoking rooms. The Members' Smoke Room is located in the same corridor as the Members' Dining Room. No strangers are allowed there. The Strangers' Smoke Room is situated in the downstairs corridor and here a Member may take his male friends.

The Strangers' Bar is situated by the Strangers' Dining Room, and here a stranger may pay for refreshment during the ordinary licensed hours. Another bar in the Inner or Members' Lobby can be used by strangers accompanied by Members.

Chess Room.

The Chess Room is the room leading out of the Members' Smoke Room. There are six tables available for chess, and a number of others for writing purposes.

Dressing Room.

A Dressing Room is provided for Members in the downstairs corridor, where they can change their clothes, etc. There is no charge to Members for the use of this room.

Hairdressing Room.

A first-class hairdressing establishment with extremely moderate charges will be found downstairs. The work is efficiently carried out by a staff from Messrs. Arding & Hobbs.

Bathrooms.

There are four bathrooms next to the dressing room downstairs. Hot baths can be had free at all times. There is an unusual rush after an all night sitting!

The Terrace.

This is a delightful spot in summer, and Members who bring their friends to tea on the Terrace have an opportunity of entertaining them in ideal surroundings, with the additional advantage of being able to point out numerous well-known legislators.

Typewriting Office.

The typewriting office is at the top of the staircase leading from the door on the right-hand side of St. Stephen's Hall. An expert staff of shorthand-typists is in constant attendance.

The Telephones.

The Telephone Switch Room is at the top of the building, and numerous extensions from the switch-board can be found all over the building. The telephone number of the House of Commons is "Victoria 6240." The use of the telephone is free to Members, both for incoming and outgoing calls. Members should bear in mind, when telling friends to ring them at the House of Commons, that the operator can only take a message and circulate it by a Messenger, and some time usually elapses before a Member can be found.

Public Bill Office.

The Public Bill Office prepares bills for presentation to the House. Care should be taken that the bills do not contain provisions not authorised by the order of leave or the resolutions to bring in the bill. The title of a bill should define its object. After inspection, the public bill office will transmit the bill to the printer. A form for the presentation of a bill can be obtained from the Public Bill Office.

The Public Bill Office also certifies the return of Members elected after a general election, *i.e.*, at a by-election. The certificate is obtained from the Public Bill Office and taken by the Member to the Clerk at the Table when he takes his seat.

Private Bill Office.

All private bills must, on the day previous to the day fixed for their hearing, be laid on the Table of the House, and deposited in the Private Bill Office, and a printed copy of every such bill must be also deposited in the office of the Clerk of the Parliaments, House of Lords. In the Private Bill Office are kept registers of votes, and other proceedings of the House on private bills. The full title of the office is "Committee and Private Bill Office," and this description is now used although it has not yet been changed in the Standing Orders in all cases.

Committee Rooms.

The Sergeant-at-Arms will allocate accommodation in a Committee Room to any Member for the purpose of carrying out his duties as a Member of Parliament. The following table shows the numbers which can be contained in each room.

Nos. 5, 6, and 15 ..	50 Persons each.
Nos. 7 and 13	30 Persons each.
Nos. 8, 11, and 12 ..	60 Persons each.
No. 10	100 Persons.
Nos. 14 and 16.. ..	150 Persons each.
Grand Committee Room	125 Persons.

Conference Room.

On the left-hand side of St. Stephen's Hall, opening out of the Secretaries' Rooms, is the Conference Room, where Members may confer with their constituents.

Lockers.

Upon application to the Sergeant-at-Arms a locker, with key, will be supplied to a Member. They are in the lobby leading from the Inner or Members' Lobby to the Libraries and Writing Room.

We now go into the Chamber itself.

The Table.

The " Table " is a fixture in front of the Speaker's Chair at which sits the Clerk of the House and the Clerk Assistants. The Mace is placed on the Table when the House is sitting. When the House is in Committee the Chairman of the Committee occupies the Chair usually occupied by the Clerk. The mace is then placed on the rest at the end under the Table. When a petition has been laid upon the Table, it is irregular for any Member to remove it. When papers are ordered to be presented, they are ordered to lie upon the Table. Private bills deposited in the Committee and Private Bill Office are laid upon the Table by one of the Clerks from that Office. A Bill when laid upon the Table of the House is deemed to have been read a first time, and is recorded in the Votes and Proceedings as having been read a first time, and on the day on which it is so laid it is ordered to be read a second time.

Treasury Bench.

This is on the immediate right of the Chair, and is occupied by Members of the Administration. On the Bench behind sit the Private Parliamentary Secretaries.

Opposition Bench.

This is the front Bench immediately facing the Treasury Bench. Its occupants are members of former Governments and Privy Councillors. The Opposition, as a whole, usually sit on the Speaker's left, although on some occasions the supporters of the Government have had to occupy seats on that side of the House when the Government in power has been suported by a huge majority.

Although the total membership of the House of Commons is over 700, the House itself can only accommodate 400 Members, including the side galleries—four in number.

Recourse has, therefore, sometimes to be made to the side Galleries, from which Members may speak, although speeches are now very seldom delivered "from above."

The Mace.

The Mace is a symbol of the Speaker's office, and is lent by the King to the Speaker during the sitting of Parliament, and is returned to the King when Parliament is not sitting. When Parliament is prorogued, the Speaker returns to the House without the Mace. Previous to the Speaker Elect appearing at the Bar of the House of Lords, the Mace is borne horizontally across the arms of the Sergeant-at-Arms, thus indicating the Speaker's election has not yet been approved. After the election, the Mace is placed in its usual position on the Table, and occupies this position all the time the House is sitting.

On the opening of the House every day, the Mace precedes the entrance of the Speaker into the House. It is borne to its position by the Sergeant-at-Arms. At the close of the sitting of the House, the Sergeant-at-Arms again precedes the Speaker carrying the Mace. When the House is in Committee, the Mace is placed under the Table, at the end, on the rest provided for the purpose. The Mace is never taken into the House of Lords.

The present Mace dates from Charles II. It is not the "shining bauble" referred to by Cromwell, and taken away by him in 1653.

The Bar.

The Bar of the House is a sliding brass rod, which can be drawn across the entrance to the Chamber. The new Members waiting to take their seats stand below the Bar until called upon by the Speaker to step forward. From the Bar petitions are presented, and Members bring up Bills and Royal Messages therefrom. Offenders summoned before the House stand at the Bar and explain their conduct, and receive any punishment which is meted out to them, such as imprisonment in the Tower, etc. It is out of order to stand on the floor of the House over the line on the carpet at the Bar.

Lobbies.

The Outer Lobby or Central Hall is the one where, if a visitor desires to find a Member, he must fill in and present a green card. The cards are obtained from the policeman on duty at the corridor leading to the Inner or Members' Lobby. When filled in, the card should be handed to the constable, who will hand it to one of the messengers in evening dress to find the Member. When a Member cannot be found, the card comes back to the policeman who calls out: "Cards returned, Member not found," and then gives the name of the missing Member. It is sometimes a long wait before a Member is found. The whole House and rooms have to be searched before the card is returned.

Inner or Members' Lobby.

This is reserved to Members, ex-Members, peers, private secretaries of Ministers, and a limited number of journalists whose business it is to collect information and interview Members in the interests of their respective newspapers. A certain number of political organisers whose names appear on the Sergeant-at-Arms' "Lobby List" are allowed free access to the Inner Lobby. "Lobbying," as it is called, is not officially recognised. No strangers, other than those mentioned above, can be admitted to the Inner Lobby unless accompanied by a Member.

When a Division takes place the Inner Lobby is cleared of all strangers.

Division Lobbies.

There are two division lobbies, the "Aye" lobby to the right of the Speaker, and the "No" to the left. Division clerks are stationed in each lobby at desks on which are placed printed lists of members. As Members pass through, the clerks place a mark against their names. At the entrance from the lobby into the House stand the Tellers, who count the numbers. The doors of the division lobbies are locked at the end of six minutes after the question is put a second time, and remain locked until the result of the division is announced in the House. After passing the Tellers, Members return to the House in the reverse direction to that by which they left.

Privileges of Members.

Summarised, the privileges of Members may be said to include: freedom of speech and person; freedom from legal arrest and imprisonment, except in cases of indictable offences, contempts of Court, felony, or misdemeanor arising out of bankruptcy. Members need not obey subpœnas, or serve on juries. Freedom of access to the Sovereign is enjoyed by the House at large, and not by individual Members. It is an offence to assault, insult, or menace a Member in his coming to or going from the House, and it is an offence to compel Members by force to declare themselves upon a particular proposition before, or about to come before, the House. It is a breach of privilege to summon or attempt to summon, a Member in the precincts of the House. It is an offence to libel a Member if the libel is based on matters arising in the actual transaction of the business of the House, or to make scandalous charges or imputations against Members of Select Committees. It is an offence to bribe, offer, or attempt to bribe a Member in order to influence him in a proceeding of the House or of a Committee.

Freedom of Speech.

Freedom of speech in the House has been the recognised law of the land for upwards of 250 years. Speeches made in Parliament, however objectionable, are protected by privilege from an action for libel, and the court has no jurisdiction on the matter, but if the Member publishes such speech as a separate publication, it is actionable.

Freedom from Arrest.

Members enjoy freedom from arrest in civil but not in criminal cases. The House is not "sanctuary" for a Member in a criminal case, but the service of criminal process during a sitting of the House may amount to a breach of privilege.

A Member need not obey a subpœna to give evidence concerning any proceedings in Parliament, or to produce any documents, unless he has been given leave to attend.

Members need not obey a summons to serve on a jury, it having been held that their attendance in Parliament relieves them of the obligation to attend as jurors.

Duty of Members.

It is the duty of Members to attend the House regularly, in fact, it is a constitutional obligation to attend. No Member should absent himself without leave of absence from the Speaker and the Commons, says an Act of Henry VIII, but the attendance of Members is not now enforced except on very special occasions.

Call of the House.

There has been no call of the House since 1836. In 1919 a private Member gave notice of his intention to move for a "call of the House" to bring the Sinn Fein Members to Westminster, but the matter was never proceeded with.

It is an obligation upon a Member to attend on a Committee on which he is sitting. Under a Standing Order, the attendance of a Member on a private bill committee is made compulsory.

Payment of Members.

Payments of Members was first instituted about 600 years ago, when constituents were liable for the expense of maintaining a Member. The legal liability of constituents for their payments is still on the Statute Book.

The present system of payment was introduced in 1911, when all Members, except those in receipt of salaries as Ministers or Officers of the House or the Household, were granted £400 a year. For Income Tax purposes an allowance of £100 was made for expenses, but now if a Member can prove that his expenses are £400 or over it is paid in full. The payment is a "salary," and not an "allowance."

Breaches of Privilege.

A breach of privilege is a contempt of the High Court of Parliament, and offenders may be punished in exactly the same way as they are punished by any other court of law. The House has power to order the attendance of persons whose conduct has been brought to the notice of the House. Members can be ordered to attend in their places, and other persons at the Bar of the House. If persons refuse to attend, they can be fetched by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Breaches of privilege may be defined to include wilful disobedience of the orders and rules of Parliament, insults or obstructions of Members, false and perverted reports of proceedings. (As a matter of history it should be noted that it is still an offence to publish reports of debates of proceedings, to comment thereon, or on the conduct of any Member in the House, by newspapers, etc., although the order has long since fallen into disuse). A Member or any other person may not publish a report of the proceedings in Select Committee until the matter has been reported to the House.

It is a breach of privilege to cast libellous reflections upon the proceedings of Parliament, and offenders may be committed to the custody of Black Rod, or the Sergeant-at-Arms. No person may assault, insult, or libel a Member for his conduct as a Member. It is a gross breach of privilege to libel, or cast reflections at, or make accusations against, the Speaker or Chairman, or their character or conduct. A Member cannot act as Counsel before the House, or before a Committee thereof, neither can he act as a Parliamentary Agent, nor tender professional advice on any private bill or other proceeding of Parliament.

Qualifications of Membership.

The only qualification for a Member is that he is " A fit and proper person " as set out in the nomination paper when, as a candidate, he is nominated for Parliament. A " fit and proper person " is one who is not disqualified as mentioned below. A " person " now means either male or female. A short Act was passed in 1919, under which a woman was not disqualified by sex or marriage from being elected to, or sitting in, Parliament. No age limit is mentioned in this Act, and, although a woman may not have a vote until she is 30, she can be elected to Parliament when she is 21. The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919, is well worth perusal. Twelve months after the passing of the Act the first woman M.P. was elected, and in 1921, the first British-born woman M.P. was returned in the person of Mrs. Wintringham, the wife of the late Member for Louth.

Disqualifications.

A bankrupt cannot be elected to Parliament, nor can he sit or vote in the House until he gets an annulment and a certificate that the bankruptcy was due to misfortune and not to misconduct. If bankruptcy occurs in the case of an elected Member, and the bankruptcy is not removed within six months of the date of the Order, the Court informs the Speaker. Thereupon the seat becomes vacant and a new writ is issued to fill the vacancy. Nothing prevents a bankrupt from sitting or voting in the House, and no official notice of the bankruptcy is required for six months.

Aliens.

An alien is disqualified from being a Member, although a naturalised British subject has to all intents and purposes the status of a natural-born British subject.

Minors.

Minors cannot sit in the House and they are disqualified from election. (Some of the youthful Members of late have come perilously near disqualification.)

Returned for more than one constituency.

A Member returned for one constituency cannot be returned for another until he vacates his first seat.

Imbeciles and Lunatics.

A mental imbecile is disqualified ; so also is a lunatic. Should a Member become a lunatic after election, he is dealt with by the Speaker on receipt of a certificate from the asylum where the Member is confined. Two Members of the House may also certify a lunatic. Six months after receipt of the certificate, the Speaker lays the report upon the table, and issues his warrant for a new writ. Other persons disqualified include certain pension holders, judges, sheriffs, returning officers, clerks in holy orders, government contractors, English Peers, and holders of certain offices such as Colonial Governors, Consuls, etc.,

Persons found guilty of such offences as treason, felony, or corrupt practices are also ineligible.

Resignation.

A Member cannot resign. If he wishes to retire he must accept an "office of profit under the Crown." Application is made to the Treasury. On acceptance he vacates his seat, and a new writ is issued. The office of profit is the "Steward and Bailiff of the Chiltern Hundreds." If the "Chiltern Hundreds" is not vacant, a Member applies for the office of "Steward of the Manor of Northstead." I understand that each of these offices carry with them a salary of 25s. per annum! There are no honours attaching to these appointments. The appointments are retained until they are applied for by another Member.

Re-Election of Ministers.

Under an old Act, passed in the reign of Queen Anne, the acceptance by a Member of an "office of profit under the Crown" necessitates the vacation of his seat, and a new writ is issued. Members accepting certain offices are not disqualified from being re-elected. A Minister holding an office of profit who accepts another must seek re-election, as also must a Minister who, holding one office, accepts another and performs the duties of both offices. The acceptance of an office of profit within nine months of the proclamation of summoning a new Parliament does not now disqualify the holder from sitting or voting, and he does not vacate his seat. The purpose of this Act, passed in 1919, was to enable the Prime Minister to form his administration without putting the acceptors of office to the trouble and expense of by-elections immediately after a General Election.

Time of the House.

Normally the House meets at 2.45 p.m., except on Fridays, when it meets at noon. At the time of going to Press the House meets at 11.0 a.m. on Fridays, and in all probability this hour will become permanent. It adjourns at 11.30 p.m. except on Fridays, when it adjourns at 5.0 p.m. (See also suspension of 11.0 o'clock rule below).

During each Session the days allotted to Government business are Monday and Thursday, unless the House by order otherwise directs. After Easter, Government business has precedence on Tuesdays, and after Whitsun and until Michaelmas, at all sittings except the third and fourth Fridays after Whit-Sunday. Therefore, after 8.15 p.m. on Tuesdays and Wednesdays before Easter, and Wednesdays between Easter and Whitsun, are given to private Members' bills. On all days except Fridays, all opposed business must end at 11.0 p.m., unless a bill originating in Committee of Ways and Means, or other exempted business, is under consideration. The days allotted to supply are recorded under "Committee of Supply."

Nowadays, the Government takes nearly the whole time of the House, and private Members have but little opportunity to advance their motions. Three motions usually appear on the order paper, and except on rare occasions not more than one is debated.

The Session of Parliament is the period in which Parliament sits from its summons by Proclamation to Prorogation. The House usually opens in January, or early in February, and sits until August. If there is an autumn Session, the House goes on again from October until November or December. The following summarises the general procedure of business :—

January and February.—Opening of Parliament, King's Speech. Debate thereon. Business of Supply.
March.—Supply, Government business.
April.—Budget, Supply, Committees.
May.—Supply, Government Bills, Ways and Means.
June and July.—Government Bills, Supply.
August.—Goverment Bills, Supply, Appropriation Bill.

In the case of an autumn Session, special Government business is taken, and it is usually announced by the Leader of the House when he makes a motion for the adjournment in August.

When the House rises each evening (or morning), the last words heard in the corridors and lobbies are: "Who goes home?"

Members' Seats.

No special place is allotted to a Member, although old Members are allowed by courtesy to retain their seats without disturbance. It is only by custom that the Treasury Bench is appropriated by the Administration, and the Opposition Bench reserved for the Members of the late Government and Privy Councillors.

An old time custom prevails on the opening of a new Parliament. The Members for the City of London then claim the right to sit on the Treasury or Opposition Bench.

Seats are allocated by arrangement to parties and groups.

Members thanked by the House or complimented by the Prime Minister, retain by courtesy the seats chosen by themselves. Seats are secured by being present at prayers, and a Member's name must not be affixed to a seat before prayer time. Any Member who secures a seat by being present at prayers, retains it by courtesy until the rising of the House. Cards, marked "At Prayers," are obtainable and these are placed in the slot on the back of the seat. Members attending on a Committee retain their seats without being present at prayers, and red cards for this purpose are obtainable from the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Cards or hats are frequently placed on seats before prayers, and, providing a Member remains in the precincts of the House, it indicates his intention of claiming the seat by attendance at prayers. Until a Member has been present at prayers, he has no claim to a seat.

Members serving on Committees.

The Sergeant-at-Arms informs all committees of the fact that the House is going to prayers. All committees, except a Standing Committee, can sit during a sitting of the House, except while the House is at prayers. A Member serving on a Select Committee, whilst in attendance on the Committee, retains his seat in the House without being at prayers. Cards for this purpose can be secured upon application to the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Time of Meetings.

As already stated, the Commons assemble on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in normal times at 2.45 p.m. On the day of the opening of the House it is 12.0 noon. On Friday in normal times the House meets at noon (see page 515). On the first four days of the week the debate on disputed subjects terminates at 11.0 o'clock, unless the 11.0 o'clock rule is suspended. On Friday the House adjourns at 5.0 o'clock. The time of adjournment on the first four days is 11.30 unless a money bill or an address to the Crown is under discussion, or the Standing Order has been suspended by order of the House. Strictly speaking, there is no fixed time for the rising of the House, and " Who goes home ? " is likely to occur at any time. The House opens with the procession of the Speaker, his Chaplain, Train Bearer, Sergeant-at-Arms, etc., accompanied by the Mace. After prayers, the Speaker is " in the Chair," and strangers can then be admitted to the Members' Gallery—ladies being admitted to the ladies gallery half-an-hour before the time of the sitting of the

House. The business of the House is then proceeded with in the following order :—

Private business.
Presentation of Petitions.
Unopposed Returns.
New writs to fill vacancies.
Questions for Oral Answer and Supplementary Questions.
Questions by Private Notice.
Motions for adjournment on matters of urgent public importance.
Introduction of new Members.
Notice of intended motion.
Motions for leave to bring in Bills.
Presentation of Bills.
Reading of Orders of the Day.
Government business.
Adjournment moved at 11.0 p.m., and contested business interrupted unless the 11.0 o'clock rule has been suspended.
Unopposed Business at 11.0 p.m.
House adjourns at 11.30 without question put.

During each Session, the days allotted to Government business are Monday and Thursday, unless a motion has been carried whereby the Government take all the time of the House. After Easter, Government business has precedence on Tuesday evening, and after Whitsun until Michaelmas at all sittings except the sittings on the third and fourth Fridays after Whit Sunday.

A New Parliament.

A new Parliament is summoned by proclamation on the dissolution of the old one, and the meeting of the new Parliament must be within twenty days of the dissolution. On the demise of the Crown, Parliament meets without summons.

On the first day of the meeting of the House, the Clerk of the Crown delivers a list of all Members returned to the Clerk of the House, and the House assembles and awaits a message from the Lords. The message is delivered by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, who intimates that His Majesty desires the presence of the Commons at the Bar of the House of Lords. The Commons then proceeds to the Lords. As Black Rod approaches, the door of the House of Commons is slammed in his face. This is an ancient custom which preserves the right of the House of Commons to assemble and deliberate without reference to the Peers.

Election of Speaker.

In the House of Lords, the Lord Commissioner signifies that it is His Majesty's pleasure that the Commons shall choose a Speaker, and after doing so, present him for His Majesty's approval. On returning to their own House, the Commons immediately proceed with the election.

The Clerk of the House rises in his place at the table, points to a Member, and, without speaking, sits down. The Member indicated rises and, addressing the Clerk, proposes that "Mr. —— do take the Chair of this House as Speaker." The motion is seconded by another Member, and on the motion being carried, the Member selected is summoned to accept the office. The Speaker-elect then takes the Chair, and returns thanks for his election. In cases where more than one Member is proposed as Speaker, the selection may go to a division. During these proceedings the Mace is placed below the table, and on the election of Speaker it is placed on the table.

The next day the Speaker, at the head of the Commons, attends the House of Lords and receives the Royal approval. On his return to the House of Commons he reports his approval and repeats his thanks to the House. He then reminds the House that the first thing to be done is to take and subscribe the oath, and standing alone he takes and subscribes the oath himself. The other Members present follow, and afterwards sign the Roll, and are introduced by the Clerk to the Speaker. The following day prayers are read for the first time by the Speaker's Chaplain, and the Speaker takes the Chair.

Swearing In.

All Members, before sitting or voting in the House, whether on the assembly of a new Parliament or otherwise, must take and subscribe the oath or affirmation. Affirmation may be made in lieu of the oath. In the case of a Member returned after a by-election, the Clerk of the Crown sends to the Clerk of the House a certificate of return. A Member elected as the result of a by-election must obtain from the Public Bill Office a certificate of receipt, known as the "blue paper." This he must produce at the table when he takes his seat. Until a Member has taken the oath or affirmation he cannot sit or vote, neither can he obtain the return of the £150 deposited with the Returning Officer at the election.

In the event of the demise of the Crown, all Members again take the oath.

The King's Speech.

When Parliament is opened in person by the King, His Majesty proceeds to the House of Lords and commands Black Rod to summon the Commons to the House of Lords. Black Rod goes at once to the Commons and, as stated previously, the door is slammed in his face. He then taps three times on the door with his rod, and on being admitted, advances towards the Speaker, bowing three times. He must not turn his back on the Speaker. He then gives the Royal Command for the presence of the Commons in the House of Lords. The Speaker and Members proceed to the House of Lords, and, standing at the Bar, hear the speech read from the Throne. The speech itself is prepared by the Cabinet, approved by the King, and indicates the principal measures to be brought in by the Government during the Session. Reference is also made to relations with foreign powers, and thanks are tendered to Members of the House of Commons for the provision of supplies in the past. The concluding words are: "I pray that the blessing of Almighty God rest upon your deliberations."

(As a matter of history, I recall only one occasion on which the last sentence was omitted from the speech as read by His Majesty, although the words appeared in the printed copy, and this was on the occasion of the opening of Parliament by the King on February, 1921).

The House is sometimes opened by Commission, on which occasions the Lord Chancellor reads the speech. After the speech has been read, whether by His Majesty in person or by Commission, the Speaker obtains a copy and goes back to the House of Commons, which adjourns until 3.0 p.m. On the resumption, the Speaker reports the speech to the House. Before this is done, however, it is usual to read some Bill a first time in order to establish the right of the House of Commons to conduct business without reference to the Crown, or to the summons contained in the King's Speech. The Bill usually selected is the Outlawry Bill. Other business is frequently entered before the reading of this Bill, such as moving for new writs, sessional orders, etc.

The House next proceeds to the debate on the address in reply to the King's Speech. It is moved in the form of an expression of thanks for the speech, and is seconded. The mover and seconder speak from their places in the House in court dress or uniform.

Debate on the King's Speech.

Amendments to the address can be proposed in such wide terms that they cover every conceivable matter of public interest. Amendments must be put in at the table as soon as the question is proposed from the Chair. Movers of amendments should note that amendments are taken as far as possible in the order in which the subject touched by the amendment stands in the King's Speech. Members are well advised to ascertain how far down their particular amendment is on the order paper, so that they may be certain of being in their places to move and speak on it.

When the address is agreed to, it is ordered to be presented to His Majesty.

Officials of the House.

In the following pages are described the various officials of the House and their duties. They are protected from actions arising out of the performance of their duties, if they do not exceed their authority. It is an offence to assault or interfere with officers of the House while in the execution of their duties. Punishment would be as in the case of a breach of privilege.

The Speaker.

The Speaker is chosen by the House of Commons itself. Nominally he is appointed for a Parliament, but usually continues in office until he dies or withdraws. On his resignation he is made a Peer and given a pension.

On the opening of a new Parliament, the Commons are directed to elect a Speaker ; this being done the appointment receives Royal approval. The Speaker's salary is £5,000 a year, with an official residence in the precincts of the House. At the opening of a new Parliament after his election, he makes and subscribes the oath required by law, and other Members present do the same. At the opening of a new Session, when Parliament is opened at noon by the King in person, the Speaker goes to the Bar at the House of Lords to hear the speech from the Throne. He returns and reads it to the House of Commons and then adjourns the House until 3.0 o'clock.

When the Session is opened by Commission, the Speaker and the Members go to the House of Lords, and the Royal Speech is read by the Lord Chancellor.

The Speaker is spokesman and representative of the Commons, and is Chairman of the House. He fixes the hours of meetings of the House, presides over its deliberations and calls upon Members to speak, issues writs to fill vacancies, maintains order during debate, decides points of order, puts the question before the House for decision, orders divisions to be taken and appoints the tellers, and declares the result of the division. He has a casting vote in the event of a tie. All Members address the Speaker, and not the House or any part or party. The Speaker puts all amendments to the House; he checks irrelevance in debate; he represses disorder and enforces withdrawal. He can suspend and "name" Members. Silence must always be given for Mr. Speaker when he rises to speak. He can decline to put the question of the closure; his conduct cannot be questioned.

His entry into the House is described on page 520. After prayers, if there is a quorum of 40 Members present, he takes the Chair and presides over the business of the day. He can disallow questions if he thinks it is an abuse of the right of questioning. He is entitled to interrupt the business of the House on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday at 11.0 o'clock, when the

House is not engaged on exempted business. On Friday the moment of interruption is 5.0 o'clock. Business under consideration at the moment of interruption stands over until next sitting. The Speaker adjourns the House without question put; he can adjourn the House in case of grave disorder.

The Speaker has the authority to revise or regularise notices of motion given by Members, and he can decline to submit the motion for adjournment if, in his opinion, the subject is not definite, or of urgent public importance. The Speaker orders bills to be brought in. His powers are extremely wide and his decisions treated with very great respect in the House. His duties are particularly exacting, especially in regard to notices of motion for the adjournment, and the application of the closure.

Deputy Speaker.

The Deputy Speaker is the Chairman of Ways and Means, and can take the Speaker's place in the absence of the Speaker. The Speaker can request the Deputy Speaker, without any formal communication to the House, to take the Chair either temporarily or until the adjournment of the House.

Counsel to Mr. Speaker.

This officer is appointed to assist and advise the Speaker on any legal questions coming before him. He has also certain other duties to discharge in the examination of private bills, whether opposed or unopposed, on behalf of the Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means.

The Speaker's Chaplain.

The Speaker's Chaplain is appointed by the Speaker to read prayers each day at the opening of the sitting. In his absence, the Speaker himself reads the prayers.

Secretary to Mr. Speaker.

This officer is a personal servant of the Speaker, and changes with the Speaker himself. He should be consulted at all times when communicating with the Speaker. He is always ready and willing to be of assistance to Members.

The Train Bearer.

The office of train bearer dates back above 120 years. He is the Speaker's personal attendant, and accompanies him as far as the Bar of the House when he takes the Chair at the opening of a sitting. He carries the Mace behind the Speaker at the rising of the House. He sees that all bills, order papers, etc., are in the Speaker's Chair ready for his use. He attends the Speaker on all ceremonial occasions and announces the names of M.P.'s and other guests attending the Speaker's levees and official dinners.

The Clerk of the Parliaments.

This officer is the clerk of the House of Lords, and is responsible for the publication of the proceedings and journals of the House. He sits in the House of Lords with his Clerk Assistant and Reading Clerk. He signifies the Royal Assent to Bills, and endorses the Bills communicated between the two Houses.

Clerk of the House of Commons.

The Clerk of the House of Commons sits below the Speaker on the right, and is chief officer of the House. At the election of Speaker he is addressed by the Member proposing the election of Speaker. If there is only one name submitted for the office of Speaker, the person proposed is called by the Clerk of the House to take the Chair without question put. If there are more candidates than one, the Clerk continues to act the part of Speaker until the debate is closed. He then puts the question, and if a division is claimed he orders the division and appoints the tellers. He sits at the table of the House of Commons with the two Clerk Assistants. He adminsters the oath or affirmation to Members, and presents new Members to the Speaker. All questions must be handed to him in writing, and he advises Members when questions are not in order or require revision. He reads the Orders of the day and all other documents which are read to the House. He reads the titles of Bills; he also receives petitions and makes the ballot for notices of motion. He acts as Clerk of Committee when the House is in Committee.

The first ballot of a new Session, or of the opening of a New Parliament, is taken in one of the Committee Rooms. All subsequent ballots are taken at the table.

The Chairman of Committees of the whole House sits in the Clerk's Chair at the table when the House is in Committee.

Clerk Assistant and Second Clerk Assistant.

These officers are appointed by Royal Warrant, and sit next to the Clerk at the table. They are the keepers of the records of the House. Questions to Ministers are handed to them, and they have the right to revise them under the direction of the Clerk of the House. They receive notices of motions, bills, and amendments to be entered on the notice paper; they also prepare the notice paper showing the order of business for each day. The chief Clerk Assistant acts as Clerk of Committee when the House is in Committee. The Clerk Assistant is responsible for taking ballots for notices of motion. Ballots are taken immediately after questions. If a Member desires

to obtain precedence for a notice of motion, he enters his name on the ballot paper, which is placed in the " No " Division Lobby. The name or signature of the Member must not appear more than once on the ballot paper. Numbers are assigned by the ballot paper to the names of Members intending to give the notice, and slips bearing the corresponding numbers are filled up and placed in the ballot boxes. The Clerk Assistant draws a number at random from the box, and the Speaker calls upon the Member whose number it is, who rises in his place and says : " Mr. Speaker, I beg to give notice that on the
day of , I propose to call the attention of the House to ."

The Member who has been successful in the ballot must then hand in to the Clerk at the table a copy of the notice of motion.

Black Rod.

The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, to give him his full title, is appointed by the Crown. His duties, and those of his deputy, the Yeoman Usher, are to request the attendance of the Commons at the Bar of the House of Lords when the Royal Assent is given to bills, or to hear the King's Speech, or on other occasions. He also takes charge of witnesses brought from custody to give evidence at the Bar of the House, and executes orders for commitment of persons guilty of breaches of privilege or contempt, and takes charge of Peers attached or retained in custody by order of the House of Lords. He also assists at the introduction of peers into the House of Lords.

Sergeant-at-Arms.

The Sergeant-at-Arms (or his Deputy) occupies the Chair on the right of the Bar of the House. He is charged with the duty of maintaining order in the House, and of acting on such orders as he may receive from the Chair. He attends the Speaker with the Mace on entering and leaving the House, or on going to the House of Lords. He is responsible for the door-keepers and messengers, and other officers of the House are under his charge. He maintains order in the lobbies and passages, and regulates the admission of strangers. He has charge of all the Committee Rooms of the House. When the Speaker orders a Member to withdraw, or to be removed, it is the duty of the Sergeant-at-Arms to enforce the Speaker's order. Under Standing Orders he gives notice to all Committees when the House is going to prayers.

It is not generally known that the Sergeant-at-Arms has an official residence in the precincts of the House, and a small private Gallery for his own use capable of holding four ladies.

The Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms.

He takes turns with the Sergeant-at-Arms in occupying the seat in the House of Commons on the right, and of enforcing the orders of the House. He allocates the Committee Rooms.

Division Clerks.

Division Clerks' duties are to take down the names of Members as they pass through the turnstiles of the lobbies during a division. The turnstiles at the entrance to the lobbies are marked "A to J" and "K to Z," and as Members pass through the Clerks tick off their names on the printed list of Members. The number of Members passing through are counted by the Tellers for the division as they pass out of the Lobby door.

Shorthand Writer.

The Shorthand Writer is appointed by the Clerk of the House of Commons. He attends at the Bar of the House of Commons when persons are summoned to the Bar. Shorthand Writers also take down evidence of witnesses given before Select Committees. The Shorthand Writer of the House of Commons takes the notes of evidence on the trial of an election petition.

The Librarian.

The Librarian and assistant librarians are responsible for the five libraries of the House. The officials are in reality mines of information, and always ready to help Members to find quotations or books on any given subject. Some notes on the Libraries appear on page 501.

Typewriting Staff.

The staff is controlled by an eminent firm of shorthand writers, and consists of ten expert shorthand typists, who are on duty from 11.0 a.m. to 10.0 p.m.—working in two "shifts." Silence cabinets are provided wherein Members may dictate in secrecy their letters and notes for their speeches. The staff are practically private secretaries to Members, and many Members are able to dispense with the services of a secretary in the secretaries' room. Duplicating and "roneo" work is carried out by the staff. The "Whips" and notices summoning committees are duplicated in this department. The charges compare very favourably with those of outside firms. In addition Members receive a discount of twenty per cent. on their accounts.

The Doorkeepers.

There is a Head Door-Keeper and one assistant in the House of Commons. They are responsible for seeing that no unauthorised person passes through the door leading immediately to the Chamber, and they stand one each side of the door. It is their duty to know each Member of the House. It is an excellent idea for Members to make themselves personally known to the messengers, door-keepers, and constables, as it assists these officers to " spot " Members when delivering messages, letters, or " green cards."

Messengers.

The duties of Messengers consist of finding Members of the House when a visitor calls upon them. A visitor hands a green card to the constable on duty, and it is the duty of the messengers to search the whole House, Committee Rooms, Dining Rooms, etc., in order to ascertain whether the Member is in the precincts of the House. If they are unable to trace the Member, they return the card to the constable, who informs the caller accordingly. Messengers also deliver letters and notes to Members. There are about two dozen messengers and they are a most useful body of men. It is advisable for a new Member to make himself known to all of them.

Messengers are appointed by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and are Civil Servants entitled to a pension. A certain number of messengers are " badged " messengers, and these are really the personal attendants of Members. They are the only messengers allowed to go into the Chamber as far as the Bar of the House, or behind the Speaker's Chair. They assist the Sergeant-at-Arms to remove any disorderly Member. " Badged " messengers are in charge of the Galleries of the House of Commons, including the Ladies' Gallery. The senior " badged " messenger is in charge of the Special, Distinguished Strangers' and Ambassadors' Galleries. " Badged " messengers remain in the Inner or Members' Lobby during divisions. Their duty also extends to the serving of summonses upon witnesses. Their "badges" are, like the Mace, lent by the King, and returned to him with the Mace when the House is in recess.

Police.

The police on duty in the House of Commons are charged with many special duties. They are under the Inspector of Police of the House of Commons. It is not generally known that there is a Sessional Order under which the Commissioner of Police gives instructions that all the streets leading to the House of Commons are to be kept free and open, and that no obstruction shall be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to the House. The police on duty at all the approaches to the House hold up the traffic when a Member is crossing the road. Further, there is a limitation of the number of persons that can assemble within a mile of the House for the purpose of a meeting, or of presenting a petition, during the time that the House is sitting. That is why it is impossible to hold open-air meetings in such places as Trafalgar Square during the sitting of the House.

The Inspector of the Police stands in the Inner Lobby on the approach of the Speaker at the opening of a sitting, and orders all strangers to take off their hats. This order includes even the police themselves. The Police on duty in the Inner Lobby clear the lobby of all strangers on the announcement of the division. The constables constitute the Fire Brigade of the House of Commons.

The Whips.

The Whips of the great political parties have no *locus standi* in the House of Commons, but they are an essential arm of party organisation. There are four Whips' offices in the Inner Lobby, and special seats in the Inner Lobby are allocated to the Whips' Messengers.

Each party has a Chief, Second, and Assistant Whip, all of whom are Members of the House of Commons. The Chief Government Whip is usually Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, and the Assistant Whips are generally Junior Lords of the Treasury. The present parties occupying the Whips' offices are :—

1. Coalition.
2. Liberal.
3. Labour.

The Whips' chief function is to summon the Members of their party to debates and divisions.

The " whip " sent to Members to summon their attendance at the House is in the form of a printed circular letter, and the importance of the whip is shown by the number of lines appearing underneath the text of the letter ; that is, one line, two lines, or three lines. If the debate or the division is an important one, the telephone and telegraph wires are brought into use. The Whips have to secure and keep a quorum, or " make a House " as it is called. Frequently it is possible for a private Member to take part in debate by intimating to the Whip a desire to do so. The Whip in turn makes arrangements with the Speaker. When the Whips are " on the door," a Member should not leave the precincts of the House ; if he does he is liable to incur the eternal displeasure of his party.

Whips' Messengers.

These are a hard worked body of men whose duty it is to deliver early each morning to the London address of Members the "Whips" for the day. They then come to the Inner or Members' Lobby of the House, and sit in the special seats provided for them, taking the names of every Member passing into the House. They are known as "Markers-in," and it is their duty to "mark in" on a printed card each Member as he enters the Members' Lobby. Each party has a "Marker-in," and at any time of the day he can inform the Whip of the exact number of Members in the House. Not only does the "marker in" have to know the name of the Member, but the constituency he represents.

After prayers, the business of the day is entered upon in the following order.

Presentation of Petitions.

Petitions may be presented through any Member, who must endorse it with his own signature. No debate is allowed upon a petition when it is presented. By permission of the Clerk, however, the Member presenting it may read and briefly explain it, or the Clerk himself may read the petition. Petitions must be in writing and contain original signatures only. Petitions from corporate bodies may bear their official seal. The Corporation of the City of London and the Corporation of Dublin have the right directly to present a petition at the Bar of the House. A similar right was refused to Edinburgh some few years ago.

Petitions for presentation by a Member may be forwarded post free to any Member in parcels open at the ends, and not exceeding 32 oz. in weight. They must be marked on the outside "Parliamentary Petition." To-day, petitions do not so frequently occur as in the past, and presentation usually consists of dropping the document in the bag at the back of the Speaker's Chair.

Unopposed Returns.

Motions for unopposed returns follow the presentation of petitions. Notice of these in the form of a resolution must stand on the notice paper of the day. The Government Department concerned must have signified its readiness to grant the return. The return can be moved for before or after questions. Every Member, before he gives notice of a motion for a return, should consult the librarian, who will render him all possible assistance in the matter.

New Writs.

No Member of the House of Commons can resign. Should he desire to vacate his office as a Member of Parliament he must make application to be appointed to the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, an office of profit under the Crown which legally involves vacation of the acceptor's seat. If the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds is in the hands of a Member who has just made application for the appointment, and another Member desires to relinquish his seat, he is appointed Steward of the Manor of Northstead. The appointment to such an office has sometimes been refused, but usually the Treasury make the appointment to any Member who applies. Once having accepted the office, the Member usually resigns immediately, rendering the office available for the appointment of another holder. There is no honour attached to the office, and the salary is 25s. per annum !

Writs to fill vacancies are moved by the Whip of the party to which the late Member belonged. Writs issued during a recess are issued by the Speaker by inserting a notice in the *London Gazette* for the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new Writ. Six days' notice has to be given of such notice. At the beginning of every Parliament, the Speaker appoints a panel of Members to act for him in the matter of writs in case of his death, absence, or resignation.

Questions.

It is by questions to Ministers that the private Member is able to carry out a considerable amount of his duties towards his constituents and the public generally. Questions enable him to obtain information which would otherwise not be available. They may concern any matter of general or local interest. There are five types of questions :—

1. To the Speaker.
2. To Ministers for oral answers.
3. To Private Members.
4. By Private Notice.
5. Questions requiring written replies.

No written or public notice of questions to the Speaker is allowed, and no question can be addressed to him except on a point of order.

Questions to Ministers for oral answer must be given in writing to the Clerk at the Table. They must not contain arguments, or express opinions, or quote the Press. They must be strictly confined to facts, and be put with the object of obtaining information, or ascertaining the intentions of the Government or a Government Department on matters of public interest. Questions for oral answer when handed in must be " starred." A Minister may decline to answer the question if he thinks such a course is in the public interest. The Speaker has the right to veto a question. The Clerk at the table is always ready to advise members on their questions, and to revise them if they are out of order. Questions must not refer to previous questions, or any past debate in the same Session, or to matters *sub judice.*

Questions must be addressed to the Minister responsible for the Department to which the matter relates. In recent times the practice has sprung up of addressing questions to the Prime Minister in order to secure a better place, and it is to be deprecated.

Question time closes at 4.0 o'clock, and those questions not reached by that time are circulated with the votes, unless they are put down again or withdrawn. The number of questions allowed to each Member per day is three, whilst the number of written questions is unlimited. One clear day's notice of a question must be given. Questions may be put down for answer on Fridays, but it is understood that Ministers need not attend to reply.

Answers to Questions.

The Speaker calls upon Members to put questions in the order in which they are printed on the notice paper. The Member rises and says "I beg to ask question No.   ." The Minister responsible gets up and reads his reply. The answer is almost invariably confined to the question. If the Member is not present to take a reply, it is printed and circulated with the votes. Questions to Ministers are answered on the days shown below. The order of reply and the days are constantly being altered.

MONDAY.

Prime Minister.
Lord Privy Seal.
Lord President of the Council.
Board of Trade.
Education.
Air Ministry.
Transport.
Foreign Office.
Agriculture.
Office of Works.
Colonies and Ireland.
War Office.
Home Office.
Treasury.

TUESDAY.

Prime Minister.
Lord Privy Seal.
Treasury.
Foreign Office.
War Office.
Home Office.
Pensions.
Scotland.
Agriculture.
Colonies and Ireland.
Office of Works.
India.
Post Office.
Air Ministry.

WEDNESDAY.

Prime Minister
Lord Privy Seal.
India.
Admiralty.
Labour.
Health.
Foreign Office.
Colonies and Ireland.
War Office.
Agriculture.
Office of Works.
Home Office.
Treasury.
Attorney General.
Air Ministry.

THURSDAY.

Prime Minister.
Lord Privy Seal.
Lord President of the Council.
Treasury.
Pensions.
Foreign Office.
Health.
Home Office.
Colonies and Ireland.
Office of Works.
War.
Agriculture.
India.
Air Ministry.

Supplementary Questions.

Supplementary questions arising out of the reply to the original question are allowed at the discretion of the Speaker, and the form of asking a supplementary question is: "Arising out of the answer, I beg to ask the Hon. Member if——." Questions may be asked and replies taken by deputy, if called a second time.

Questions to Private Members.

Questions to unofficial Members are few and far between. They must relate to a bill, motion, or other business of the House with which the Member is concerned.

Private Notice Questions.

Private notice of a question must be given to the Speaker and the Minister concerned at least two hours before question time. The practice of asking private notice questions should not be abused, and Members should not use this form of question unless the matter is one of urgent public interest. The form of private notice questions is: "I beg leave to ask the Prime Minister (or other Minister) the question of which I have given him private notice, etc."

Written Replies.

Questions asking for returns, schedules, statistics, etc., must not be "starred." The Clerk at the Table will advise Members on this point. The replies to written questions are circulated with the votes, and so also are the replies to questions not reached by 3.45 o'clock, unless notice of intention to postpone or withdraw has been handed in. Members asking for returns and statistics should first consult the Librarian in order to make certain that the information is not already available.

Motions for the Adjournment.

Motions for the adjournment are made after questions and before the Orders of the Day, and then only by leave of the Speaker, who has to decide whether the matter is of urgent public importance. The terms of the motion must be given to the Speaker in writing. If the motion is allowed, not less than 40 Members must rise in their places and support the mover.

The motion must not refer to one already decided in the same Session, or anticipate discussion upon a bill or motion. If more than 10 Members or less than 40 rise in support of the motion, the Member making the motion may claim a division. Such motions can only be tabled for hearing on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays.

The mover of the motion, when it comes on, should bear in mind he must say nothing in anticipation of a matter which is down for future consideration, or on the notice paper. His speech must be confined to the exact terms of the subject of the motion. He has no right of reply. Not more than one such motion can be made at the same sitting, and not more than one matter can be discussed on one motion. Neither can a question of privilege be raised on a motion.

The form of question put to the House on a motion for the adjournment is: "That this House do now adjourn."

Introduction of a New Member.

A new Member returned after a by-election stands at the Bar of the House until called upon by the Speaker, who says: "Members desirous of taking their seats, please come to the table." The new Member goes forward between two Members, one of whom is usually the Whip of his party, and the other a supporter or personal friend. They make three bows to the Chair. This procedure is to give the Members of the House an opportunity of knowing the new Member. On reaching the table the new Member presents his blue paper from the Public Bill Office, signs the roll, makes and subscribes the oath or affirmation, and is introduced to the Speaker by the Clerk. A new Member wishing to speak is by custom given preference over other Members. It is, however, unwise to attempt to speak too early after introduction to the House. There is plenty of time, and it takes a new Member a little while to get the "atmosphere" of the House. It not infrequently happens that a subject with which a new Member is conversant is not down for discussion for some time after his introduction. New Members should intimate to the Speaker their desire to make their maiden speech, and facilities will always be granted.

Notice of Intended Motion.

The precedence of private Members' notices of motion are determined by ballot. A Member wishing to obtain a place in the ballot should enter his name on the numbered list, which on the first two days of the Session is hung in the Lobby. On the third day the ballot is held, and the result announced. On that day, during the sitting of the House, a Member should hand in at the table his notice of motion. The above is the procedure for the first four motion days, and after the first four days the ballot for notices of motion are held in the House itself from time to time, as notice of motion day becomes available. When successful in a ballot held in the House, precedence can only be secured by giving oral and also written notice during the same sitting.

A Member who has secured a place in the ballot gives oral notice in the following words : " On day, the day of I will call attention to , and move a resolution." A note is made by the Clerk at the Table in the order book of the date fixed for the hearing of the motion.

If a Member whose name is called is not present, he loses his chance, and a fresh number is drawn.

If notice of intended motion is given by a Member of the Front Opposition Bench, challenging the policy of the Government, the Leader of the House will usually grant facilities for the hearing of the motion.

The House itself may, by notice, take away the precedence obtained in the ballot by private Members, or may allot the whole time of the House to Government business.

Dropped Motions.

Any motion failing to find a seconder, cannot be debated.

Motions for leave to bring in Bills.

Precedence for this class of motion is obtained by ballot, held on the third day of a session in a committee room. If a Member is successful, he must, during that same day, hand to the Clerk at the table a copy of the " long title " and the " short title " of the bill proposed to be introduced. The next day he must obtain from the Public Bill Office a " dummy " bill, add the names of other Members as backers of the bill, and attend at the House of Commons to present the bill when called upon by the Speaker to do so. Names on the back of the bill must not exceed twelve. The bill is handed up to the Clerk at the table and the day is fixed for a second reading.

Presentation of Bills.

The ordinary procedure on the presentation of a bill is that the first reading takes place immediately after the bill has been presented at the table and the date of the second reading is announced. On the second reading, the Member introducing the bill makes a speech explaining its objects. Opposition is by form of amendment "that this bill be read a second time in months (or that the bill be rejected)."

If the Speaker thinks fit he may, after a brief explanatory statement from the Member who introduced the bill, and from a Member opposing the bill, put the question for further debate, or the question that the debate be adjourned.

After the bill passes the second reading it goes automatically to a Standing Committee, unless otherwise ordered by the House. The bill may be sent to a Committee of the whole House or to a Select Committee.

The former method of presenting a bill was as follows: The Member, having obtained the "dummy" bill, goes to the Bar of the House and waits there until he is called by the Speaker. On being called by name he answers, "A Bill, sir." The Speaker then says "Bring it up." This is now obsolete, and the present method is for the Member to come forward from behind the Chair. The Member then goes to the table and hands it to the Clerk of the House who reads the title. The Speaker then asks "What day." The Member names the day, which is repeated by the Speaker, and the second reading of the bill becomes an Order of the Day for the day named for the second reading. The bill is afterwards handed in at the Public Bill Office in order that it may be printed and circulated. The Public Bill Office prepares such bills for presentation and prints them free of charge.

Blocking a Bill.

After 11.0 o'clock on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and at 5.0 p.m. on Friday, that is, " the moment of interruption," no opposed business can be taken, and by attending at this time any Member can " block " a bill by raising his hat and saying " I object." The matter is then put off until the following day of sitting, when the same block can be put on a bill by continuing the debate until the moment of interruption.

Blocking Motions.

A Blocking motion is one which hinders the progress of the bill, as distinct from blocking a bill which prevents the measure from being debated. A blocking motion successfully prevents the measure from being proceeded with until after 11.0 o'clock on the first four days, or after 5.0 o'clock on Friday. A blocking motion prevents discussion on a subject inconvenient to the Government, and debate on that subject is therefore prevented as long as a motion remains on the paper, from which it can only be removed by the Member himself. Blocking motions disappeared from the House in 1914, and do not now form part of the Rules and Procedure.

Orders of the Day.

Orders of the Day consist of a list of the business of the day, the bills to be discussed, in their various stages. As soon as the business of the day, which has precedence over the Orders of the Day, has been disposed of, the

Clerk reads the Orders of the Day. While Orders are being read, no motion for the adjournment of the House can be made except a motion made by a Member of the Government that circumstances have arisen which render it desirable that the House should adjourn.

When an Order of the Day has been read, it must be thereupon proceeded with, or another day fixed, or the Order discharged. Orders of the Day cannot be taken after 11.0 o'clock at night if objected to, except when the Order concerns the business of finance.

Dropped Orders of the Day.

All Orders appointed for a sitting, and not disposed of before the close of a sitting, stand over until the next sitting or until such sitting as is appointed. Notice of the standing over of an Order should be given to the Clerk before-hand. To replace a dropped Order of the Day upon a notice paper, the motion is made before the commencement or after the close of public business, to appoint a day. This motion can be made without notice. If, when the Order of the Day is read, no motion is made thereon, it becomes a Dropped Order.

A Dropped Order of the Day which is revived is printed in italics at the head of the list of Orders of the Day, or at the place among the Orders of the Day at which it is proposed to be taken.

Government and Public Business.

The business of Parliament is divided into three separate sections :—

1. Government and Public Business.
2. Private Business.
3. Private Members' Business.

Government Business deals with National and Imperial affairs, and private business with purely local or personal matters. There is also Private Members' Business.

Government business includes bills introduced by the Government, and the nation's financial affairs. The Government claims the greater part of the time of the House, and it has precedence at every sitting except after 8.15 p.m. on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, and the whole of Fridays' sittings. Tuesday evening, however, is given to the Government after Easter, and the Wednesday evening after Whitsun, and only the third and fourth Fridays after Whit-Sunday are available for Private Members' business.

Motions are frequently made by Members of the Government to take possession of the whole time of the House throughout the Session. If the House agrees to this, no Private Members' Business can be introduced except during the hour allowed to Members for general discussion on the motion for the adjournment at each sitting.

The phrase " Public Business " includes all the items set down in Orders of the Day, such as Bills, Supply, Estimates, Notices of Motion, etc., as distinct from private business.

Public Business commences when the Speaker has called the first Member who has given notice to present a bill or to make a motion at the commencement of public business; or upon the Member in charge of the first motion standing at the head of the Orders of the Day. Motions on public business must stand in the name of a Minister of the Crown.

At sittings where Government business has precedence, the Orders of the Day and the notice of Government motions are placed in the order in which the Government requires them dealt with, subject, of course, to the priority on Tuesdays and Wednesdays of Private Members' motions, and on Thursdays of the Order of the

Day on Supply. Precedence is occasionally given to the proceedings on the reports of the resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means and other Committees authorising public expenditure, the exception being the Committee of Supply.

Private Business.

Private business is usually introduced in the form of bills to enable private individuals associated together to undertake work of public utility at their own risks; bills of naturalisation; change of name; divorce, or bills for perfecting titles to estates, etc. Unlike public bills, notices in relation to private bills are not given by a Member, or entered in the order book except in the case of any special proceedings. They must be delivered to the Committee and Private Bill Office by the Parliamentary agent in charge of the bill. Private bills are printed and circulated with the votes.

Private business is taken as soon as prayers are concluded. The Speaker calls upon the Clerk at the table to read the titles of private bills appointed for that day's sitting, and Members then make their motions relating to private business of which they have given notice. All private business which is not disposed of by 3.0 o'clock is postponed until such times as the Chairman of Ways and Means may determine. Private business is again taken at 8.15 p.m. after the motion for the adjournment has been disposed of.

Opposed private business cannot be taken after 9.30 p.m., and is postponed until the next sitting of the House. No opposed private business may be set down for 8.15 on Wednesdays between Easter and Whitsun, or for a Friday.

The second reading of a private bill is exactly the same as on the second reading of other bills, and the subject is dealt with under this heading. After the bill has passed the second reading is the proper time for opposition.

Government Measures.

I now propose to review some of the bills which come before the House from time to time, many of them annually. Generally speaking bills are of three kinds :—

1. Government bills which are " starred " on the order paper.
2. Private bills.
3. Private Members' Bills.

The stages of bills under ordinary precedure is :—

1. First Reading.
2. Second Reading.
3. Committee Stage.
4. Report Stage.
5. Third Reading.
6. Sent to Lords.
7. Back from Lords. } *If amended by Lords.*
8. Return to Lords. }
9. Royal Assent.

The method of introducing bills has already been dealt with.

Government bills deal with legislation affecting the whole or a defined section of the community. All bills, whether Government or private, must be read three times in each House before they can be sent to the King for Royal Assent.

Government bills are introduced to give effect to the terms of the King's speech, and are introduced by Ministers. Every bill has to be backed by the names of Members supporting the bill, not exceeding a dozen, and also by the names of the Member introducing the bill.

Accompanying the bill is a memorandum by the Minister explaining its provisions.

After being read a first time, which is purely a formal proceeding, the debate takes place on the second reading when amendments are moved. If the Bill be one for imposing taxes, or a Consolidated Fund Bill, it is referred to a Committee of the Whole House after the second reading, and is reported back to the House.

Every Bill which has not completed its stages within the Session in which it was introduced, has to be dealt with from the beginning in any subsequent Session in which it is introduced.

Appropriation Bill.

The Appropriation Bill is the measure which authorises grants from the Consolidated Fund, and appropriates to each separate service the sums voted in Supply.

This Act cannot be passed until the financial year is completed, and any money required before the passing of this Bill is voted out of the Consolidated Fund. When all the grants necessary for the services of the year have been voted, the Appropriation Act gives legal sanction to the grants.

The debate and amendments on the Appropriation Bill must be relevant to the Bill, and confined to the conduct or action of those who receive or adminster the grants specified in the bill.

When the Appropriation Bill has passed both Houses, it is returned to the custody of the Commons. When the Speaker is summoned to the House of Lords, he hands the Bill to the Clerk of the Parliaments to receive the Royal Assent.

The passing of the Appropriation Act usually takes place on the day appointed for the prorogation of Parliament, and this concludes the financial arrangements of the year.

Appropriations in Aid.

Each grant of money to the services is placed before the Committee of Supply in the form of a motion, which states the amount to be granted and the particular service for which the sum is required. Into the Appropriation in Aid account is paid all the money received in connection with the public service, such as sums realised from the sale of old Government property, etc., etc. These sums are credited to the Government Department concerned, and the amount deducted from the gross amount asked for by the Department in the Estimates.

Appropriations in Aid cannot be reduced in Committee of Supply, neither is discussion permitted on the policy of such Appropriations in Aid or the services on which savings have been made, if they are due savings.

Army Annual Bill.

The annual consent of Parliament is necessary to raise and keep a standing army in the United Kingdom in times of peace. In Committee of Supply the House agrees to the number of men to be maintained during the year. The Army Annual Bill must become law before the 30th April in each year. On the second or third reading of the Bill, debate is not allowed on the general purposes of the Army, the policy by which it is administered, the enforcement of the existing Army Regulations, or on the conduct of troops in war-time.

The Consolidated Fund.

Into the Consolidated Fund is paid the proceeds of taxation and other sums received by the Treasury on behalf of the Crown, and from this fund issues the supply of money for all public services. Charges upon the Consolidated Fund cannot be applied except to the financial year to which they belong, neither are the drafts made to meet the supply voted in one parliamentary Session applicable to the supply voted in another Session. In addition to the drafts made upon the fund to meet the requirements of each Session, permanent charges are paid out of the fund, such as interest on National Debt, the Civil List, annuities to the Royal Family, salaries and pensions to the Judges, etc., etc.

Consolidated Fund Bills are introduced from time to time each Session. These bills empower the Treasury to issue out of the Consolidated Fund such sums as they require in anticipation of the amount to be sanctioned by the Appropriation Act.

The first Consolidated Fund Bill is passed during the month of March, and includes the supplementary grants for the services up to the end of the financial year, which commences on the 31st March. This bill must receive Royal Assent in time to allow of the necessary issue being made before the 31st March. Further Consolidation Fund Bills are passed during the Session, according to the money required for the maintenance of the public services.

The Estimates.

Estimates are laid before the House in the early part of each Session. They are the estimates for the whole of the public services during the whole of the financial year.

They are divided into three sections :—

1. Navy.
2. Army.
3. Civil Service.

Circulated with the estimates is a memorandum explaining any special feature or proposals in the estimates.

The Civil Service estimates cover all government departments outside the Navy and Army, and with each estimate is a statement showing the money intended to be spent on the particular service during the next financial year.

The ministerial representatives in the House of the Navy and Army make speeches when formally laying estimates before the House. There are so many estimates to go through that there is no time to debate them in detail. The Opposition choose Estimates to be discussed. A day is usually given, and it counts as one of the days allocated to Supply. All undebated estimates are put together on the last day of Supply.

Estimates are laid before the House in accordance with the directions contained in the Speech from the Throne when Parliament assembles after Christmas. The estimates for the Navy and Army are presented before the 15th January, or within ten days of the opening of the Committee of Supply. The whole of the revenue of the country is now paid into the Exchequer, and the receipts of the Revenue Department included among the Estimates.

The Crown, acting through Ministers, is responsible for the presentation of Estimates and for the form in which they are presented.

Each Estimate contains a statement of the total grants demanded, and a statement of the detail expenditure thereof divided into sub-headings, and other particulars. The Estimates disclose the total amount of expenditure required for each financial year.

Other Estimates.

In addition to the ordinary sessional estimates, estimates for grants on account, supplementary grants, and for excess grants are presented each Session.

Supplementary Estimates.

These are presented during each Session to cover unforseen expenditure, which, occurs as the result of circumstances such as expenditure newly imposed by the passing of a new Act of Parliament or to meet the cost created by an unexpected emergency.

As the ordinary estimates of government departments are prepared nearly 16 months in advance, it is almost impossible for the department to estimate their exact requirements. As a result it frequently happens that the sessional estimates are far below the department's actual requirements. Hence supplementary estimates.

Votes of Credit and on Account.

When money is required for a department before the estimates are passed by the House, it is secured by a Vote on Account, and the money is granted in advance before complete sanction has been given in the expenditure.

In case of emergency, money is voted by a Vote of Credit. Votes are granted in the case of unexpected demands, such as for the defence of the Empire, which on account of indefiniteness cannot be stated or given in the form of an ordinary estimate.

During the war it was the practice to allocate "token" votes. Sums voted in this way are, like all other grants of supply, available only during the financial year in respect of which the grant is made.

The Finance Bill.

The Finance Bill legalises the duties and taxes authorised by the Committee of Ways and Means. The Bill is introduced in the usual way, and debated. The rules of debate and amendment on the Finance Bill are the ordinary rules. When the Finance Bill proposes new taxes, and is found to go beyond the resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means, or other Committee of the Whole House, the resolution must be passed by the Committee before those provisions can be considered, or the Bill must be amended. Amendments to the Bill must relate to the current finance of the year. The House is subject to the same restrictions, as regards imposition of charges on the people, when debating the Finance Bill as it is at others times. A new clause or amendment cannot be proposed at this stage for the inclusion, in the liability to a tax, persons who were not subject to it whilst the Bill was in Committee.

Money Bills.

A Money Bill is defined as a public bill which, in the opinion of the Speaker, contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects.

> " The imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation ; the imposition for the payment of debt or for financial purposes of charges on the Consolidated Fund or on money provided by Parliament, or the variation or repeal of any such charges, supply, appropriation, receipt, custody, issue or audit of accounts of public money ; the raising or guarantee of any loan or the repayment thereof, or subordinate or incidental to these subjects or any of them."

The Parliament Act of 1911.

This Act provides that a money bill, having been passed by the House of Commons and sent up to the Lords at least one month before the end of the Session, and not passed by the Lords within one month of it having been sent up, shall pass into law without passing the House of Lords.

The expressions " Taxation," " Public Money " and " Loan " do not include taxation, money, or loan raised by local authorities or bodies for local purposes.

Every money bill, when sent to the House of Lords for presentation to the Sovereign, shall be endorsed by the Speaker with a certificate, signed by him, that it is a money bill (See also Chairman's Panel).

Indemnity Bill.

The Indemnity Bill is one which relieves the Government of liability from consequence of having acted on urgent matters without the previous sanction of Parliament. Such a bill is proceeded with as an ordinary bill, though it is usually passed through all its stages at one sitting as being of an urgent character.

The Budget.

The Budget is the annual financial statement made in comprehensive form usually during April of each year. It contains the accounts of the national revenue and expenditure for the previous financial year, and the Government proposals for raising revenue for the next twelve months. The proposals are at once submitted to the House in the form of resolutions, which have temporary effect until they are incorporated in the Finance Bill. The object of taking the resolutions immediately upon the introduction of the Budget is to prevent people taking goods out of bond by early information as to the duties, etc.

The great spending departments make out their statements to the 31st March, and these statements are laid before Parliament in the form of the Budget. The statement is introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who reviews the financial resources of the country, estimates the probable income and expenditure for the next twelve months, makes comparisons with the previous years, and informs the House whether taxes are to be diminished or increased, and in what direction. If the taxes produce more than is required to meet national expenditure, the surplus goes to the reduction of national debt. The statement is made in Committee of Ways and Means, and the resolutions are passed the night the Budget is opened. After the debate on the Budget, the resulting resolutions form the basis of the Finance Bill.

The customs duty on tea and the income tax are the only duties at present not made permanent by statute, and resolutions to pass these duties are always passed on the night of the introduction of the Budget. The duty on malt was made perpetual 100 years ago, on tobacco nearly as long ago, and on sugar over 75 years ago.

The effect of the passing of such resolutions is to authorise the provisional collection of taxes for a period of four months after the date on which the resolution takes effect.

Taxes for revenue of the year are considered by the Committee of Ways and Means.

The Budget has to go through the usual course of Government measures. When the resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means are embodied in the Finance Bill, it is still subject to the usual procedure of the House, except that it can be discussed after 11.0 o'clock and, like all money bills certified by the Speaker under the Parliament Act of 1911, cannot be altered by the House of Lords, which must either accept or reject it as it comes from the Commons. If any of the money collected as the result of the passing of the Budget resolutions is over and above the amount finally authorised by the House of Commons in the Finance Bill, the money already levied as a consequence of acting upon these resolutions is returned.

Expiring Laws Continuance Bills.

These bills are brought in from time to time to continue acts of a temporary character, and usually such bills are short in character, having attached to them a schedule giving the names of the Acts proposed to be continued. The same rules of debate as are applicable to ordinary bills have effect on expiring laws bills.

Amendments to such bills proposing the repeal of any of the Acts mentioned in the Schedule are out of order. The Committee on such bills cannot amend the provisions of the Acts proposed to be continued or shorten the duration of such provisions, neither can it make the Acts permanent. It has been ruled that the continuance of any particular Act must be discussed on the schedule to the bill when the Act is reached, and not on the conclusion of the bill.

Provisional Order Bills.

Provisional Order Bills give effect to claims of local authorities which have been drawn up in accordance with the powers conferred upon them by the House. Another object of a Provisional Order Bill is to give statutory effect to Orders made by government departments, in relation to, *inter alia*, the provision of works of public utility such as the improvement of workmen's dwellings, and the construction of piers, harbours, gas, water, electric light, and tramway undertakings, etc. The effect of a Provisional Order Bill is to enable government departments and local authorities to deal in detail with such undertakings, with which Parliament would otherwise be asked to deal. Before a Provisional Order can be brought forward in the House, a Parliamentary local enquiry must be held. The enquiry must be public and held in the locality affected by the proposed Order. Previous notice of the enquiry must be given, and the person holding the enquiry must make a report to the government department concerned.

A Public Bill before the House.

As already stated, a public bill relating to the public income or expenditure must receive the previous recommendation of the Crown. The method of bringing in bills is described elsewhere. Care must be taken that bills do not contain provisions which are not authorised by the order of leave to bring in bills, and that the bill itself is prepared in proper form. If a bill is not in order, the House will order it to be withdrawn. Objections to these points are taken at the Committee stage.

First Reading.

The first reading is formal, and leave to read a bill a first time is very rarely opposed. After the short title has been read by the Clerk, the bill is deemed to have been read a first time and is to be printed.

The Ten Minute Rule.

" The Ten Minute Rule " is under a Standing Order which permits a Member to bring in a bill at the commencement of public business. The Member introducing the bill may speak for ten minutes on the introduction, and the Member opposing may briefly reply in five. The question is then put without further debate.

Second Reading.

Opposition to a bill takes place on the second reading, and at this stage discussion is on the general principles of the measure. The bill, after passing the second reading, goes either to a Committee of the Whole House or to a Standing or Select Committee. On the second reading, opponents may vote simply against the bill, and defeat the second reading on that day, or may propose amendments to postpone the reading of the bill to "this day three (or six) months," or at a time beyond the probable duration of the Session.

A bill at the second reading stage is considered clause by clause, and frequently considerably amended and remodelled. Sums to be charged on the public revenue, etc., are printed in italics known as "blanks." These are agreed to without question put, unless a Member proposes alteration to them. If the Member in charge of the bill, or any other Member, desires that the bill be committed to some Committee other than the Committee of the Whole House, he moves that the bill be committed to a Select (or other) Committee immediately after the second reading, and without notice. If such a motion is made later, it must be set down as a notice of motion.

Report Stage.

The next proceeding is the report of the bill to the House by the Chairman of the Committee which has considered the bill in Committee. The procedure on reporting to the House is described elsewhere. If no amendments have been made, the bill is ordered to be read a third time, but if the Committee have altered it, the bill, as amended is ordered to be read a third time either then or on a future day.

Resolutions.

On report, resolutions are the same as on bills. They are read twice by the Clerk, the first reading being formal, after which the question is put "that the said resolutions be now read a second time." The resolutions are then read successively. At the second reading of a bill, amendments may be proposed to the resolution itself. Then the first question is "that the House doth agree with the Committee in the said resolution." Resolutions may be committed.

Third Reading.

The third reading is the final stage of a bill in the House of Commons before being sent to the Lords. The bill is brought forward for the final approval of the House, and only verbal amendments can be made at this stage. After the third reading, the title of a bill may be amended, if necessary, so as to conform to the contents of the bill as finally settled.

Bills Sent to the Lords.

Immediately after the passing of a bill by the House of Commons, it is taken by the Clerk of the House to the Bar of the House of Lords, where the Clerk desires their Lordships' concurrence with the measure. It then passes through the same stages as in the Commons. A bill from the House of Commons which has remained twelve days on the Table of the House of Lords cannot be proceeded with save upon eight days' notice. If a bill which has passed the other House is rejected, no measure thereon is sent to either House. When the Lords agree in principle with the measure, but differ in detail, they return the bill with amendments, to which the Commons either agree or disagree. The same procedure is adopted when the bill originates in the House of Lords. If the House of Lords return the bill to the Commons, insisting upon amendments which affect the Commons' privileges, it is usually ordered that the consideration of such amendments be postponed for three or six months, or the bill may be withdrawn, or a conference arranged between the two Houses. If agreement cannot be secured, the bill is lost for the Session. The relations between the two Houses in regard to money bills have been dealt with elsewhere.

Consideration of Lords' Amendments.

Amendments by the Lords, other than verbal ones, are printed and circulated to the Commons with the Orders of the Day. On the consideration of Lords' amendments to a bill, the question put is " that the Lords' amendments be taken into consideration." It is not then permissible to discuss the provisions of the bill. Amendments may be proposed to the question leaving out the word " now " and inserting " upon this day three months " or " laid aside." Amendments are read one by one, and after discussion a motion is made " that this House doth agree (or disagree) with the Lords in the said amendments." No debate on a Lords' amendment in reply or second speech is allowed. The debate must be confined to the amendment before the House, and not to other amendments. The bill is then sent back to the Lords.

Royal Assent.

The House of Lords is the place of custody for bills prior to the Royal Assent. When bills, either public or private, have been finally agreed to by both Houses, they only await Royal Assent to pass them into law. The Royal Assent is now never given in person, but by the Lords Commissioners and the Lord Chancellor, acting on behalf of the Sovereign. The Royal Assent is given in the House of Lords in the presence of both Lords and the

Commons. The Commons are summoned to the Lords by Black Rod, who signifies that the Commons attendance is required to hear the Commission read. The Commons, led by the Speaker, immediately go to the Bar of the Lords. The consent is pronounced in Norman French, varying according to the class of bill sanctioned.

The moment the Royal Assent has been given, that which was a bill becomes an Act, and instantly has the force and effect of law unless some future time is appointed in the Act for the coming into operation thereof.

Private Business.

No opposed private business can be set down for Fridays or before 8.15 on Wednesdays between Easter and Whitsun. All private business set down for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and not disposed of by 3.0 p.m., is postponed until such time determined by the Speaker.

Private business is taken on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday at 8.15, or as soon after as possible, but no opposed private business can be taken after 9.30, except that then under discussion. Unopposed private business has precedence over opposed private business.

Private Members' Bills.

Private Members' bills, except those introduced under the Ten Minute Rule (*q.v.*) take their chance in the ballot. Members who have been successful in the ballot select a vacant date on the Order Paper, and one which gives hope that the next stage would be reached at an early date. Fridays before Whitsun are devoted to private members' bills.

Motions.

Every proceeding in Parliament is based upon a motion made by a Member and seconded by another Member. The question is then put from the Chair and decided by the House "Aye" or "No." Motions call upon the House to make an order or to agree to a resolution. That is a substantive motion, and must be printed in the notice paper of the sitting when the motion is made, and moved by the Member in whose name the motion stands. Previous notice of motion must be given, except in the case of formal motions which arise from proceedings in which the House is engaged, such as motions for adjournment or on a report from a Committee. The matter of ballot of motions has been dealt with elsewhere. The House itself may take away from private Members the precedence obtained by ballot, in favour of some other measure. The day named for the hearing of the motion may be changed to a later day by giving notice at the Table. Motions take precedence each day according to the order in which the notices were given.

Motions Without Notice.

Motions without notice can be made as follows :—

(1) Unopposed motions by consent of the House and with the sanction of the Speaker.

(2) Questions of privilege.

(3) Formal motions as defined above.

(4) Motions for postponing an Order of the Day.

The proposer of a motion can only withdraw it by leave of the entire House. A motion which has been withdrawn can be moved again. When an amendment is proposed to the original motion, the latter cannot be withdrawn until the amendment has been withdrawn.

Withdrawal of a Motion.

A motion or an amendment cannot be withdrawn except by the Member who moved. The seconder of a substantive motion may reserve his speech if, when seconding the motion, he raise his hat and bows to the Chair. The mover of an Order of the Day may also reserve his speech in a similar manner. The mover of a substantive motion can make two speeches, one in moving and one in reply. No one else, however, can speak twice on the same question.

Notices of motion have precedence over Orders of the Day at 8.15 on Tuesdays and Wednesdays before Easter and after Michaelmas, and on Wednesdays between Easter and Whitsun.

Members of the Government have priority in giving notice on the first day of the Session when they desire to make announcements regarding public business, such notices being given after the usual sessional orders and resolutions have been agreed to.

Privilege Motions.

Such motions may be brought on without notice, and usually take precedence over all other business or Orders of the Day. A notice of motion on a matter of privilege is printed at the head of the notice paper, above the other Orders of the Day and without a number. Proceedings may be interrupted at any time on a matter of privilege, except during a division. A Committee of Privilege may be appointed and nominated forthwith without notice.

Rules in Debate.

A Member desiring to speak must rise in his place uncovered, and address himself to the Speaker.

A Member may not speak twice on the same question, except in explanation or in reply to a substantive motion. The Speaker or Chairman of the Committee will call on him by name. It is irregular and out of order for a Member to address his remarks to the House or any party or to any Member. No allusion must be made to any debate of the same Session, nor to a debate in the other House. The King's name must not be used with disrespect, or in a way which will influence the deliberation of the House. Members must not be referred to by their own names, but as " The Honourable Member for (naming the constituency they represent)." A Member may not read his speech, but he may refresh his memory from notes. A Member speaking from either of the front benches below the gangway must not stand with his feet upon the green carpet on the floor of the House. He must be relevant in debate. His speech must be to the question before the House, or to the motion or amendment which he intends to move. A Member when called upon by the Speaker or Chairman must speak standing, except in the case of sickness or infirmity, and then he is allowed to sit by the acquiescence of the House. If more than one Member rises at the same time, the Speaker or Chairman will call upon the Member whom he selects to speak. All others must then be seated. Priority is always given to a new Member when he rises for the first time in the House. The Member who has moved successfully the adjournment of the debate, is entitled to speak first if he rises at the proper time, and the Member who is speaking when the debate is adjourned is entitled to resume the adjourned debate. Every Member has the right to express his opinion, and the proper time is after the question has been proposed by the Speaker, and before the " Voices " are collected.

Collection of the " Voices."

Members' opinions are collected from their " Voices " in the House, and not merely by a division. Members' "Voices" bind their votes, and a Member who says "Aye" or " No " is bound to vote with his " Voice." If the contrary be discovered, the vote would be disallowed.

Relevancy in Debate.

A Member can only speak when there is a question before the House, or he intends to conclude with a motion or amendment, save in the following circumstances: (1) To put a question to a Member or to answer a question put. (2) In a personal explanation. (3) On a point of order. (4) If he be a Minister, to make a statement.

If the Speaker rises, order must be given for him, and any Member speaking must at once resume his seat. A Member is not allowed to speak twice on the same question unless it is to explain his speech, or when the House is in Committee, or if he be the mover of a substantive motion.

A Member must strictly confine his speech to the point under discussion. Where more than one question has been proposed from the Chair, the speech must relate to the last question until it is disposed of. If the speech is on a point of order, or a question of privilege which has arisen suddenly in the House, the speech must be confined to the point of order or the question of privilege. In the case of a motion for the adjournment of the House not during debate, the speech must be confined to the motive of the motion. A Member must not repeat himself, or discuss Orders of the Day or motions of which notice has already been given, neither must he discuss a bill or motion not before the House.

Time for Explanation.

The time for explanation is at the conclusion of the speech which calls for it. If, however, a Member in possession of the House gives way and resumes his seat, the Member desiring to make the explanation can do so immediately, but if the Member who is speaking declines to give way, the explanation cannot then be offered.

Debate in Committee.

In a Committee of the Whole House, the restrictions upon speaking more than once are altogether removed, the reason being to secure that the details of the question or bill may have the most minute examination in Committee.

Reply.

Reply is only allowed to the mover of a substantive motion. This includes the mover of a substantive motion for the adjournment of the House, but not a Member who addresses the House in moving an Order of the Day, or the mover of an amendment for the adjournment during a debate on the previous question, or of an Instruction to a Committee.

Reserved Speech.

A Member can reserve his speech for a later period in the debate by raising his hat without rising to address the Chair. A reserved speech can be used as a reply speech.

Personal Allusions in Debate.

A Member must not make personal allusions or impute bad motives to another Member. He must not misrepresent another Member's language, accuse another

Member of misrepresentation, falsehood, or deceit, or use contemptuous or insulting language. A Member may not obstruct public business.

Reading in Debate.

A Member may not read any portion of a speech made in the same Session from a printed book or from a newspaper. The Speaker may permit the quoting of speeches delivered in former Sessions. It is irregular to read extracts from newspapers, letters, or other documents referring to debates in the House in the same Session. No reflection may be cast upon the Speaker or Chairman of Ways and Means, or on the House.

Allusions to the House of Lords.

Allusions to the other House are out of order. As far as the House of Commons is concerned the debates in the House of Lords are not known, and therefore no notice can be taken of them. No debate is allowed upon bills before the House of Lords, or on Bills passed by the Commons and sent to the House of Lords. If the House of Lords is referred to at all it must be by the words "the other House" or "another place." No allusion may be made to the reports or proceedings of Committees.

The House will always insist upon the withdrawal of offensive words and an unqualified apology for their use.

A Minister of the Crown must not read or quote from a document not before the House, unless he is prepared to lay it upon the table.

Personal Explanation.

Personal explanations must be confined to correcting a wrong impression concerning a Member's conduct or words. In making a personal explanation, a Member must not indulge in observations outside the point at issue, or in any new matter or argument, or refer too distinctly to previous debates. Personal explanations are sometimes allowed on behalf of absent Members. Explanations by a Minister leaving office are usually made before the commencement of public business. No debate is allowed on such explanations, although a Minister on behalf of the Government may, with the consent of the Speaker, make a statement in reply.

Suspension, Withdrawal and Naming of Members.

A Member may be suspended through several causes: (1) The Speaker may order the withdrawal of the Member when he is disorderly. (2) He may suspend a Member when he obstructs. (3) He may order a Member to discontinue his speech if it is irrelevant, and (4) Name a Member for disregarding the authority of the Chair, or abusing the Rules of the House. (5) A Member may be expelled if his offence would bring discredit on the House.

Before expulsion the Member is asked to attend and explain his offence. If any Member who has been suspended refuses to obey an order, the Speaker or Chairman or other occupant of the Chair calls attention to the fact that force is necessary in order to compel obedience, and the Member who refuses to obey shall thereupon be suspended for the remainder of the Session. The Speaker or Chairman will order a Member to withdraw from the House during the remainder of the day's sitting if his conduct is grossly disorderly. The Sergeant-at-Arms acts on instructions from the Chair. Members who have been asked to withdraw must forthwith do so, and from the precincts of the House, subject to the proviso that suspended Members who are serving on Committees must continue their duties on such

Committees. A Member is "named" by the Speaker when guilty of disorderly conduct. The Speaker calls particular attention to his conduct, and when a Member has been named by the Speaker a motion is made forthwith that the Member be suspended. When the conduct of a Member is under consideration, he must withdraw during the debate.

Order for the Speaker.

When the Speaker rises to interpose in a debate he must be heard in silence, and the Member who is speaking must immediately sit down. Members should not leave their seats while the Speaker is speaking.

Members Not Speaking.

Members present in the House during debate must keep their places, and enter or leave the House with decorum and not cross the floor of the House irregularly. They must maintain silence and must not hiss or interrupt. Members are not allowed to lie full length on the Benches or raise their legs from the floor. Any Member infringing these rules is called upon by the Speaker by name, and on a motion may incur the displeasure and the censure of the House. A Member may not stand in the gangways. It is the duty of the Sergeant-at-Arms to keep the gangways clear. All Members leaving the House during a debate must be uncovered, and bow to the Chair while passing to or from their seats. Members must not cross between the Chair and the Member speaking. It is out of order to hiss in the House, and the only cry sanctioned is " Hear, Hear." Clapping is prohibited. A Member may call the Speaker's attention to a point of order either by rising to order, or by crying " Order " or

"Chair." Debate must close on the question under discussion when the question is put by the Speaker or Chairman.

Adjournment of Debate.

When a Member moves the adjournment of debate with the intention of having the first call at the next sitting, he must confine himself to the bare words of the motion. The Member who is speaking when the moment for interruption of business arrives, and the debate stands adjourned, is allowed to resume the adjourned debate.

The Closure.

The closure may be moved, while a Member is speaking, by the words "That the question be now put," and unless it appears to the Chairman that it is an abuse of the rules of the House, the question is put forthwith without debate or amendment. The closure may be put to a division without debate or amendment. If the matter under debate is an amendment to a motion, the closure is moved on the amendment. This is affirmed, and the amended question put accordingly and negatived. The main question is again proposed. Here the debate might still continue on this question, but a Member claims "That the original question be now put," and forthwith the main question is put. A closure motion can only be used when the Speaker is in the Chair of the House, or the Chairman of Ways and Means or Deputy Chairman presiding in Committee of the Whole House, and when a motion is supported by a division of not less than one hundred Members. The same rule is extended to Standing Committees, in which case twenty Members only are required to support a closure motion in order to carry it through.

The "Guillotine."

The "guillotine" places a fixed time limit for debate on portions or clauses of a Government Bill, so as to get it through all its stages in accordance with a definite time table.

The "Kangaroo" Closure.

This is another variation of a closure motion which empowers the Speaker, the Chairman, or Deputy Chairman of a Committee, to make a selection of the amendments to be discussed, and pass over those he considers of not sufficient importance.

The House in Committee.

There are three kinds of Committees of the House :—

(1). The Committees of the Whole House.
(2). Of Ways and Means.
(3). Of Supply.

The Chairman of Committees is appointed by the House at the beginning of a Parliament upon a motion, and continues as Chairman for the duration of the Parliament unless he resigns or dies.

Committee of the Whole House.

This Committee is really the whole House presided over by a Chairman instead of the Speaker. The functions of the Committee are to consider resolutions for the granting of public money, or the levying of taxes, and to discuss clauses of such Government and Private Members' Bills as have not been referred to a Standing or Select Committee. On the motion that the House be put into a Committee, the Speaker leaves the Chair, and his place is taken by the Chairman of the Committee, who is usually the Chairman of Ways and Means, or the Deputy Speaker of the House. When a Committee of the Whole House is sitting, the Mace is placed under the table. Order in debate is enforced by the Chairman, who is responsible for the conduct of business in Committee. From his decision no appeal can be made to the Speaker.

After a Bill has been read a second time and committed to a Committee of the Whole House, the House resolves itself into Committee on the Bill. The Speaker leaves the Chair, and the Chairman takes the place at the table ordinarily occupied by the Clerk. If the Chairman is not present, some Member, usually nominated by the Treasury Bench, takes the Chair. In Committee, a Member addresses the Chairman by his name, and speaks standing and uncovered as when the House is sitting. A Committee can only consider matters referred to it by the House. When a division takes place, there must be two tellers for each side. Motions in Committee do not require seconding, and a Member can speak more than once on the same question.

Reporting Progress.

If the proceedings of the Committee are not concluded at the time of rising, the Chairman is directed to report progress, and ask for leave to sit again. If it is desired to supersede the business, the motion is put "that the Chairman do now leave the Chair." When the question is fully considered, the Chairman puts the following question, "That I report this Bill with (or without) amendment to the House." If the question is agreed to, the Chairman leaves the Chair and the Speaker resumes the Chair. Thereupon the Chairman approaches the steps of the Speaker's chair and reports the bill. If the Committee is sitting at the time of interruption of business, the Chairman leaves the chair and reports that the

Committee have made progress and asks leave to sit again. The Member in charge of the bill is then asked " What day ? " and he names a day for resuming the proceedings in Committee.

Report Stage.

The amendment of a bill in Committee involves an additional stage of the bill known as the Report Stage. When a bill is not amended, it is ordered to be read a third time. Notice of amendment to clauses in a bill need not be given, but as a rule should be given. Notice of amendment of bills in Committee are not received at the Table until the bill has been read a second time.

Instructions to Committees.

After a bill has been read a second time in the House, Members have a right to move, before it goes into Committee of the Whole House, an Instruction giving power to the Committee to do what cannot be done under its general powers. Instructions empower Committees to make such amendments as they think fit, provided that the amendments are relevant to the subject matter of the bill. In many cases, if proposed Instructions were allowed, the bill would be entirely altered in character and in scope, and in many cases would defeat the object of the bill. On the other hand, an Instruction sometimes considerably improves the bill. Notice must be given of any Instruction, and also of any amendment to the Instruction, which materially alters the character of the bill or extends its scope. It is only on rare occasions that the resolution for an Instruction is agreed to.

Casting Vote.

The Chairman of a Committee does not vote except to give his casting vote.

Committee of Ways and Means.

The Committee of Ways and Means is formed when the Speaker vacates the Chair to make way for the Chairman of Ways and Means. The Chairman is selected by the House at the beginning of a new Parliament. He sits at the Table in the place of the Clerk. He acts as Deputy Speaker in the absence of the Speaker. There is also a Deputy Chairman with all the authority of the Chairman. The Chairman votes only to give a casting vote. The duties of the Committee consist of the raising of public revenue to meet the expenditure granted during the current financial year, and to pass resolutions that authorise the issuing out of the Consolidated Fund the sums required to meet the grants voted by the Committee of Supply. The annual statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is generally addressed to the Committee of Ways and Means, as the consideration of taxes is within the province of this Committee.

On the budget statement, resolutions for the continuance of the duty upon tea and income tax, and all other temporary taxes applicable to the immediate exigencies of the public income, or imposed as immediate sources of revenue, are agreed to the same night as introduced and afterwards incorporated in a Bill.

Resolutions passed in Committee of Ways and Means have statutory effect for four months.

Committee of Supply.

All proceedings which relate to the national income or expenditure must originate in the House of Commons, in accordance with the request in the Royal Speech for Supply.

The Committee of Supply is formed immediately after the House has agreed to the Address in reply to the

King's Speech. The Chairman is also Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and of the Whole House, and is also Deputy Speaker. The Committee sits with the Mace under the Table. The Committee controls public expenditure by considering the grants of money required for the public services as set out in the Estimates. Every Member of the House is a Member of the Committee of Supply. Grants of Supply are first considered by this Committee, and then by the House. Twenty days, before the 5th August in each year, are allotted to supply. An additional three days may be allotted by order of the House. At 10.0 p.m. on the last day but one allotted to supply, the Chairman puts the total of the remaining Estimates clause by clause. At 10.0 p.m. on the last day of supply, the Chairman puts all outstanding Estimates. After all grants are agreed to, they are included in the Appropriation Bill.

Amendments.

In order to enable Members to vote against a question before the House, amendments must be proposed to the main or original question, as without amendment Members cannot vote against the question.

There are three classes of amendments: (1) Leaving out certain words. (2) Inserting or adding certain words. (3) Leaving out certain words and inserting or adding others.

All amendments must be relevant to the question or to the proposed amendment. The time for moving an amendment is after the question has been proposed, and before it has been put. An amendment cannot be moved on a question which has been debated in the current Session of the House, or which anticipates a motion or amendment of which notice has been given, or on matters in the Orders of the Day.

Amendments to Leave Out Certain Words.

The first amendment is treated as the main question, and the question put from the Chair is "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed amendment." If this is affirmed, the next question put is "That the words proposed be left out by the first amendment stand part of the original question." If this is negatived, the next question is "That the words summed up in the amendment as amended stand part of such original question," which, in effect, means leaving out the remaining words only of the first amendment. In this class of amendment the Speaker or Chairman says "the original was this" (*here he states the question*), since which an amendment has been proposed to leave out the words (*here he states the words proposed to be omitted*). The question is then proposed "That the words proposed be left out stand part of the question." If affirmed, the main question is again proposed and put, and if negatived, the first question proposed is the main question as amended, and the amendment may be approved either for the insertion or the addition of other words.

Amendments to Proposed Amendment.

The original question is for the time being laid aside, the first amendment being put as a substantive question, and the second amendment treated as an ordinary amendment. When the first amendment is to insert or omit or add words, the second amendment may be proposed without regard to the main question itself. The main question will be dealt with when the amendment has been disposed of.

Leaving out Certain Words or Inserting or Adding Others.

If the House resolves that the words to be left out shall not stand part of the question, then the question is proposed for adding or inserting the words of the amendment. To this an amendment may be moved to leave out certain words and add others. The question put from the Chair is " that the words proposed be left out stand part of the question." If this is affirmed, the next question is " that those words be there added." If this is also affirmed, the main question as amended is put. An amendment to a proposed amendment cannot be moved to leave out the words of the proposed amendment. The first amendment must be defeated before the second one can be moved.

Consequential Amendments.

If an amendment is proposed to leave out words in order to insert others, the question as to whether the words proposed to be left out shall stand is part of the question, and must be settled before an amendment of the alternative words can be moved.

An amendment must be seconded, otherwise it is immediately dropped. Previous notice of an amendment is not necessary, but wherever possible should be given. An amendment which appears upon the notice paper can be moved by any Member, if the Member who gave notice of the amendment does not rise when the amendment is called. Notice of amendment is required in certain cases, such as amendments on going into Committee of Supply on clauses of a bill to be considered by the House and, under certain conditions, when the Instruction to a Committee is proposed to be amended. In these cases the amendment can only be moved by the Member in whose name it stands.

Divisions.

When a debate has been concluded either by the application of the closure, or the question being put from the Chair, those in favour of the motion are invited by the Speaker or Chairman to say " Aye " and those against it " No." The Speaker or Chairman then says " I think the 'Ayes' (or 'Noes') have it." If the minority challenge the decision of the Chair and demand a division, division bells are set in motion, and simultaneously the Clerk turns a sand glass in which the sand runs out. During this time electric bells ring throughout the building and policemen shout " Division." After two minutes, the outer doors of the House having been closed and locked, the question is put a second time from the Chair, and challenged if the minority still persist in a Division. Two tellers are now appointed by the Speaker for each side. The " Ayes " are directed to go into the Lobby at the right of the Chair, and the " Noes " into the Lobby at the left. As Members pass into their respective division lobbies their names are taken by Division Clerks, and as they pass out of the Lobby doors they are counted by the Tellers. Members then return to the House in the reverse direction to that by which they left, and when the lobbies are clear the Tellers come to the Table, those on the winning side being on the right. The senior Teller for the majority reads out the figures, which are repeated from the Chair. If the numbers are equal, the Speaker or the Chairman has a casting vote.

While the House is dividing, Members can speak, sitting and with their hats on, on a point of order arising out of or through the division.

Four bells notify a division, which from start to finish takes about ten minutes. The doors into the Division Lobbies are locked at the expiration of six minutes after the Clerk has sounded the bell.

A Member may vote in a division though he did not hear the question put. He is not obliged to vote, and can remain in the chamber while the division is in progress without recording his opinion.

" Pairs."

Voting in a division by proxy is not allowed, but there is a private arrangement which can be made between Members unable to attend for a period or on a specified date to agree with other Members that they shall be absent at the same time. By this arrangement the lack of votes is neutralised, and the relative numbers in a division are the same as if both Members were present. The Members can " pair " with each other not only on a particular question or for one sitting, but for weeks or months at a time. " Pairs " are usually arranged with the Whips of the party to which a Member belongs. The signing of the " Pair Sheet " should be done with discretion. If a Member signs for the whole of one sitting, or for weeks or months, his vote either for or against the Government, no matter what question arises during the operation of the " pair," is liable in certain circumstances to operate against him with his constituents. A Member may be " paired " to vote against a popular measure, or may be " paired " to vote for the majority on a most unpopular one, and if " pairing " is resorted to due regard should be paid to the business of the House for the duration of the " pair." " Pairs " are not given any official recognition.

Voting in Wrong Lobby.

If a Member by mistake goes into the wrong lobby, and his name is taken down or he is counted by the Tellers, his vote must be reckoned as given in that lobby. A Member is not entitled to vote unless he is within the doors of the House when those doors are locked for the division, and the question put a second time.

Frivolous or Vexatious Divisions.

After a lapse of the first two minutes, if the Speaker or the Chairman is of the opinion that the division is frivolously or vexatiously claimed, he may take the vote of the House by calling upon the Members who support, and those who challenge his decision, to successively rise in their places. If he thinks fit, he may declare the decision of the House or Committee without naming the Tellers. If there is no division, the Speaker or Chairman declares the number of the minority who challenge his decision, and their names are taken down.

Voting in Both Lobbies.

Members voting in both lobbies in the same division have been allowed on the following day to state as a matter of personal explanation in which lobby they intended to vote, and it is then within the province of the Speaker to ask that the record of the division be corrected accordingly. Such explanations are made at the conclusion of questions and before the commencement of public business.

" Snap " Divisions.

It frequently happens that the opposition or a particular group will suddenly call a division when the Government supporters are not at full strength, and the opposition considers it can defeat the Government on a division. If this move be successful, the Government, usually on the motion of the Leader of the House, ask for an adjournment for time to consider the position.

Publication of Division Lists.

After a division, the Division Lists are sent to the printers, and on the following morning Members receive printed copies with their "Votes and Proceedings." If an error occurs in the printed list, it can be corrected upon application being made at the table or to one of the Division Clerks, and a note of the correction is published at the earliest opportunity in the "Votes and Proceedings."

Canvassing for Votes.

It is contrary to the traditions of the House for a Member to circularise other Members asking for their votes in favour of a motion, or to ask which way Members intend to vote. A personal interest affects the right of Members to vote in certain cases. No Member who has pecuniary interests in the question is allowed to vote on it. Members who are subscribers to undertakings proposed to be sanctioned by a private bill, or otherwise interested in a private bill, should not vote on the question. Members who are opposed to a private bill, and interested in a competing undertaking, should abstain from voting. A personal interest in matters before the House of Commons applies with equal force to matters in Committee.

Select Committees.

Select Committees are appointed by the House on the motion of a Member, who must give one day's notice of the names of Members who have consented to serve. Select Committees are appointed to consider a given public bill, or particular matter, and they have very extensive powers. The committees vary in size and they may sit beyond the precincts of the House. All Select Committees have power to send for witnesses, papers, and documents. In the case of a Select Committee appointed to consider a Bill, the committee must report to the House in the manner defined in their terms of reference, unless the House enlarges such terms. The quorum of a Select Committee is ordered by the House, and the Committee cannot proceed to business without a quorum. There is an obligation upon a Member to attend the meetings of any committee of which he is a Member. If an order summoning a witness is disobeyed, the matter is reported to the House and the offender is treated as if he were guilty of contempt of the House. The punishment for such offences is reprimand, admonition, committal to the custody of Black Rod or the Sergeant-at-Arms. Persons summoned to produce papers and records are guilty of a similar contempt if they disobey. Strangers are permitted to be present during the sitting of a Select Committee unless the Committee decides otherwise. When the Committee is considering its report, strangers are excluded. Members of the House of Commons have the right of being present both at the examination of witnesses and during the deliberation of the Committee. By courtesy, a Member should withdraw when the Committee is about to deliberate.

Evidence.

Evidence of witnesses is taken down verbatim and printed daily for the use of the Committee, and a copy of witnesses' evidence is sent to them for revision. A witness is allowed to make verbal corrections. It is a breach of privilege for any person to publish the evidence or report of a Select Committee until it has been presented to the House. After the conclusion of evidence, the Chairman of the Committee proposes resolutions or a draft report, and these are printed and circulated among the Members of the Committee for consideration.

A Select Committee has power to report from time to time, and not infrequently it issues interim reports.

If the work of the Committee is not completed at the end of the Session, the fact is reported to the House and the Committee is usually re-appointed.

Presentation of Report.

A report is presented to the House and ordered to lie upon the table and to be printed. In presenting the report, the Chairman appears at the Bar of the House of Commons and is ordered by the Speaker to bring it up.

Debate on the Report.

If a debate on the report is considered desirable, the House appoints a day for consideration of the report, and on the debate motions may be made expressing the agreement or disagreement of the House therewith.

Bills Committed to a Select Committee.

In a Select Committee on a Bill, the procedure of the Committee of the Whole House is followed, and when the evidence therein has been concluded, the various clauses of the bill are considered. Amendments to Bills in Select Committee follow the same lines as amendments to Bills in Committee of the Whole House. A Select Committee has power to consider the money clauses of a Bill duly sanctioned by resolution. When a Bill is reported to the House from a Select Committee, it is usually re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

Select Committees appointed each Session.

At the opening of each Session certain Select Committees are appointed, such as Committee of Privileges, Committee on Standing Orders, Committee of Selection, the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms' Committee, the Committee on Public Accounts, and the Committee on Publications and Debates.

Hybrid Committees.

Hybrid Committees deal with public bills affecting private interests, and are nominated jointly by the House and by the Committee of Selection. A Committee on a matter of Privilege may be appointed without notice. Such a Committee is not governed by the orders applicable to the appointment of other Committees.

Committee of Privileges.

Breach of privileges consist, in a general sense, of disobedience to the rules and orders of the House, of indignities offered to the character or proceedings of the House, its Speaker, Officers, or Members. A Committee may be appointed to enquire into and report upon a matter of privilege raised on a privilege motion. Such a Committee is not governed by any of the orders applicable to the appointment and nomination of other Select Committees, and may be appointed and nominated forthwith.

Standing Orders Committee.

This is a Sessional Committee appointed at the commencement of every Session, consisting of eleven Members, the quorum being five. Occasionally the number of the Committee is increased to thirteen. To this Standing Committee are referred all the reports of the examiners on petitions for private Bills, in which they report that the Standing Orders have not been complied with. The Committee have to determine and report to the House in each case whether such Standing Orders ought or ought not to be dispensed with. The usual procedure in these Committees is for the parliamentary agent of the Bill on the one side, and the petitioners on the other, to submit written statements and, after consideration by the Committee, the parties are brought before the Committee and acquainted of the decision. The Committee report their decision and recommendation to the House.

Committee of Selection.

This is a sessional Committee, consisting of eleven Members appointed at the commencement of every session, the quorum being three. Its duties are to nominate Standing Committees, Chairman's Panel, and other committees. It also classifies all private Bills, other than railway or canal Bills. It nominates the Chairman and members of Committees on such Bills, and arranges the time of their sittings and the Bills to be considered by them.

Kitchen Committee.

This Committee is appointed at the beginning of each Session to look after the creature comforts of Members and their friends.

Public Accounts' Committee.

At the commencement of every Session the House appoints a Public Accounts' Committee for the examination of the accounts showing the appropriation of the sums granted by Parliament to meet public expenditure. The Committee consists of eleven Members and the quorum is five. The number is increased to fifteen by order of the House. The function of the Committee is to ascertain that the Parliamentary grants for each financial year, including supplementary grants, have been applied to the object for which they were voted. The Committee also investigates the cause of any excessive expenditure over the Parliamentary grant. The work of the Committee is of a great public importance, and tends to limit the excessive expenditure by public departments. Its report provides a critical examination of the public accounts. Important changes in the customary form of Estimates are not made without the previous approval of the Committee. Official alteration in the Estimates are restricted to such re-arrangements as involve no question of principle. Its report is published in due course, and can be discussed on the House on a motion for their consideration.

Estimates Committee.

This Select Committee is appointed at the beginning of each Session to examine and report to the House upon estimates.

Publications and Debates Committee.

This Committee is also appointed at the beginning of each Session to assist Mr. Speaker in all matters which relate to the printing executed by order of the House, including Journals, Votes and Proceedings, etc., etc. Its terms of reference are very wide, and cover the whole field of Government printing. It has the usual powers of other Select Committees to hear witnesses and call for papers, documents, and records. Its reports are usually illuminating documents on waste of paper and printing in the Government departments.

Hybrid Committees.

As already stated, Hybrid Committees deal with public Bills affecting private interests. They are nominated jointly by the House and by the Committee of Selection, to consider private Bills of large public interest or a Bill which although introduced as a public measure affects private rights. If the Select Committee on Standing

Orders finds that the Bill is a Hybrid one, the Bill is, after the second reading, committed to a Hybrid Committee. The Committee are empowered to hear counsel and agents on both sides. After consideration, the Bill is reported from the Select Committee to a Committee of the Whole House and treated as a public Bill.

Standing Committees.

Six standing Committees are nominated each Session by the Committee of Selection, and appointed by the House to consider the details of certain bills sent to them. They consider the bills in the same manner as a Committee of the Whole House. One Committee considers the whole of the public bills relating to Scotland, and consists exclusively of Scottish Members, with the exception of fifteen Members nominated by the Committee of Selection. Other Standing Committees are appointed, and the selection of Members is made with due regard to the class of bills submitted to the Committee, and the qualifications of the Members selected. In Standing Committee, preference is given to Government Bills. Committees sit usually on two days of the week at 11.30 a.m. A Standing Committee cannot sit whilst the House is sitting, except by resolution of the Committee, and cannot sit after 4.0 p.m. without order of the House. The procedure in Standing Committee is the same as in Committee of the Whole House—with the " Kangaroo " closure excepted. Members of the House and strangers are admitted to Standing Committees, except when the Committee orders otherwise. The Chairman of a Standing Committee can only vote to give a casting vote.

These Committees vary in size from 60 to 80 Members, and the quorum is 20. If 20 Members are not present, the Committee adjourns. On a division in a Standing

Committee, the doors of the Committee Room are locked. A Member of a Standing Committee is not compelled to vote even though present when the question is put.

Report of Bills.

A Bill reported from a Standing Committee is proceeded with as if it were reported from a Committee of the Whole House.

Chairman's Panel.

This is nominated by the Committee of Selection, and consists of not less than four and not more than eight Members, the quorum being three. It is the duty of this Committee to appoint from among themselves the Chairman of each Standing Committee. As already stated, a Money Bill, when it is sent up to the House of Lords, is endorsed with the Speaker's certificate that it is a Money Bill. The Speaker, before giving his certificate, consults with two Members of the Chairman's Panel who advise him with regard to Money Bills.

Sessional Committees.

Amongst the sessional Committees appointed each session are Public Accounts Committees, Standing Orders Committee, Committee on Public Petitions, Committee of Selection, General Committee on Railway and Canal Bills, Local Legislation Committee, Committee on Publications and Debates, and Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms Committee.

Departmental Committees.

These are appointed by a Minister in charge of a Department to consider matters which the Minister desires enquired about. They usually consist of Members interested in the subject of the enquiry, departmental officials, and private individuals who have expert knowledge of the matter.

Joint Committees.

Joint Committees consist of an equal number of Members, usually three from both Houses. They are appointed at the instance of either House. The Committee itself agrees on the chairman. Particular private and provisional order bills are referred to Joint Committees. The report of a Joint Committee is laid before both Houses.

Members Serving on Committees.

It is the duty of the Sergeant-at-Arms to inform all Committees that the House is going to prayers. Members serving on Select Committees retain their seats without being present at prayers, if attending on the Committee.

Committee Rooms.

There are a number of self-constituted committees formed to deal with special interests and other matters connected with the duties of Members to their constituents. By courtesy of the House, these committees meet in the Committee Rooms upstairs. A Committee Room is allocated to any Member on application to the Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms. Committee Rooms Nos. 5 to 16 can be obtained for a conference or a meeting on application to the Sergeant-at-Arms.

The Adjournment of a Sitting.

Opposed business is suspended on the first four days of the week at 11.0 p.m., and on Fridays at 5.0 p.m., except by special resolution. After the disposal of the remaining unopposed Orders of the Day, the House adjourns upon a motion, usually made by a Member of the Government. An hour is then allowed for general discussion, although if the sitting continues until 11.30 or 5.30 (as the case may be), the Speaker adjourns the House without question put. The House stands adjourned if the Speaker has his attention called to the fact that a quorum is not present, and unless the Members interested in the matter before the House can "make a House," the Speaker adjourns the sitting. No count of the House can take place between 8.15 and 9.15 p.m. On Fridays, if a quorum is not present any time before 4.0 o'clock, the Speaker withdraws until that hour, unless a quorum is previously made. If at 4.0 o'clock a quorum is not present, he adjourns the House. Motions for the adjournment of the House take various forms. (1) A dilatory motion to supersede the question before the House, (2) a formal motion when business is disposed of, (3) on a question of urgent public importance (a subject which has been dealt with elsewhere), (4) for adjournment beyond the next sitting day, *i.e.*, an adjournment for Easter or Whitsun, (5) adjourning from Friday till Monday, (6) through the absence of a quorum as mentioned above, (7) in the case of grave disorder, (8) as a mark of respect to deceased Members dying within the precincts of the House, and on the occasion of Royal funerals, Royal marriages, and the Sovereign's birthday.

Dilatory Motions.

These motions are only proposed by a Member who is in possession of the House, and must be confined to the words: "That this House do now adjourn." It cannot be moved while the motion for an adjournment of debate is before the House, and it cannot be amended. Such motions elapse if they are under discussion at the moment of interruption of business.

Formal Motions.

Formal motions are made after the moment of interruption of business. The remaining Orders of the Day are then read, and on a formal motion made by the Chief Government Whip as soon as the remaining orders are disposed of. A formal motion cannot be divided on nor can it be amended.

The question of adjournment on matters of urgent public importance has been dealt with elsewhere.

Adjournment for a Recess.

The House can adjourn either from day to day, or for a given period, the latter being known as the Recess. A motion for the adjournment for a Recess is usually made at Easter, Whitsun, Christmas, or at the end of August, unless an Autumn Session is decided upon.

The motion is duly proposed by a Minister at the commencement of public business, and without notice, but if notice is given it is placed either in the Orders of the Day or among the other orders of motions. On the motion for an adjournment for a Recess, any Member can speak on a wide range of public topics, except those matters standing on the notice paper. The motion for adjournment for a Recess is a substantive one, and therefore the mover has the right of reply.

Autumn Session.

The Autumn Session is held usually as a matter of national emergency, and in order to complete the business of the Session and to prevent business uncompleted at the end of the ordinary Session from being begun afresh. The motion for an autumn Session is moved by an occupant of the Treasury Bench, and here again Members have an opportunty of speaking upon a wide range of public matters. The difference between adjournment for a Recess and Prorogation is that under the former the business of the Session is simply suspended, but the latter concludes the Session. All business not concluded at the end of the Session must be commenced *de novo*.

Adjournment of the House.

Adjournment of the House compels the immediate rising of the House, and the proceedings are adjourned until the next sitting. The adjournment is effected by Standing Order, or by order of the House. Motions for the adjournment take various forms, such as a formal motion when the business is disposed of either before or after the interruption of business, which takes place at 11.0 o'clock. Adjournment may take place on a question of urgent public importance. On Fridays the adjournment is at 5.30 p.m. Adjournment is caused by the absence of a quorum. A quorum in the House of Commons consists of 40 Members including the Speaker, and if the absence of a quorum be proved after 4.0 o'clock, except by a division between 8.15 and 9.15, the immediate adjournment of the House takes place. On Fridays the House cannot adjourn until 4.0 o'clock, whether there be a quorum or not. Any Member can call attention to the absence of a quorum, and the debate is stopped for two minutes and the House counted. If there are less than 40 Members present, the House is adjourned. The Speaker can adjourn the House in the case of grave disorder, or as a mark of respect to deceased Members, or on the occasion of Royal funerals, Royal marriages, and the King's birthday. The House adjourns immediately on the death of one of its Members in the precincts of the House.

Formal Motion.

At the interruption of business the remaining Orders of the Day are read, and the motion for the adjournment is usually made by the Chief Government Whip as soon as the Orders of the Day are disposed of. Motions for the adjournment on matters of urgent public importance have been dealt with above.

Motions for Adjournment for Holidays.

These are usually proposed by the Minister at the commencement of public business and without notice. These motions give Members an opportunity to discuss, over a wide field, matters of public interest. The mover has a right of reply to this class of motion.

Adjournment from Friday till Monday.

This motion is usually moved by the Chief Government Whip, and only operates before the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means open, and after they are closed.

Motions for the adjournment by the Speaker are governed by Standing Orders. In the case of grave disorder arising in the House, the Speaker may, if he thinks necessary to do so, adjourn the House without question put, or suspend a sitting for a period of time to be named by him.

Abuse of Rules.

If the Speaker, or the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House, is of the opinion that the motion for the adjournment is an abuse of the Rules of the House, he may decline to put the question to the House. A Member can only move or second one motion for the adjournment during a debate.

Although it is usual to give previous notice of a motion, it need not be done in the case of motions for the adjournment, and no dilatory motion may be moved; neither must the business of the House be interrupted.

Standing Orders.

Standing Orders are the permanent rules and regulations for the conduct of Parliamentary business. Copies of the Standing Orders can be obtained by any Member on application to the Vote Office. Standing Orders, in effect, regulate the order of proceedings in the House, and unless they are revised or repealed, go on from one Parliament to another.

Standing Orders regulate the sittings of the House, the arrangements of public business, of Government business, of private business, of questions, of adjournment, of the appointment of Select Committees, of Supply and Ways and Means, of Orders of the Day, order in the House, order in debate, the closure, divisions, Committees of the Whole House and Standing Committees, etc. Standing Orders may be abrogated or suspended by the vote of the House. The present Standing Orders in force are printed at the end of this chapter.

Sessional Orders.

Sessional Orders are regulations for the conduct of business at the House which expire at the end of each Session. They must be renewed each Session. At the commencement of each Session the House agrees to these orders and regulations. They affect elections, duties of the police, etc. Sessional Orders cannot be debated upon. The Sessional Orders at present in force are printed at the end of this chapter.

Journals of the House.

The "Votes and Proceedings" of the House are compiled by the Clerks at the Table, and printed and distributed daily to Members. The "Votes and Proceedings" also contain records of divisions, and every other proceedings of the House, whether on public or private business. No person may print them who is not authorised by the Speaker. All printing is carried out by H.M. Stationery Office, the Controller of which is the King's Printer.

The Notice Paper.

The Notice paper contains the order of the business appointed for the day, notices of motion, questions, amendments, etc. All papers ordered to be circulated with the Votes are distributed with the notice paper. The latest edition of the notice paper is to be found in a receptacle in the Inner or Members' Lobby by the entrance to the Vote Office, just prior to the meeting of the House each day.

Minutes of Proceedings.

These are records of the proceedings of Select Committees. They are printed for the use of Members and witnesses of the Select Committee, and afterwards presented to Parliament. The publication of minutes of proceedings before report to the House is a breach of privilege.

Papers to Lie on the Table.

Papers ordered to lie on the Table can be obtained from the Vote Office, or seen in the Library.

Statutory Rules and Orders.

These are rules and orders made by Government departments arising out of powers conferred upon the department by an Act of Parliament. They must be laid before both Houses as soon as they are made.

Parliamentary Reports.

These are commonly known as "Hansard," after the name of the original printer. They are issued free in daily parts to Members, who can revise their speeches and return them to the Editor. Bound volumes in blue covers and indexes are also supplied free. Proceedings of certain Standing Committees are now reported and issued in daily parts in yellow covers.

Parliamentary and Command Papers.

Members are entitled to at least one free copy of all papers, blue books, returns, "white" papers, command papers, statutory rules and orders, etc., etc., as issued. A pink list is issued giving the titles of all papers issued, and Members interested in any particular paper should make application for it to the Vote Office. Command Papers may be delivered to the Library, and delivery is deemed to be presentation. Certain papers such as reports of Royal Commissions, of Select Committees, and papers relating to Estimates, are distributed to Members as a matter of course.

Accounts, Papers and Records Presented to Parliament.

Such documents as returns from the Customs and Inland Revenue, Board of Trade, Treasury, Post Office, general statistics, and White papers, are either presented by a Minister at the Bar, or deposited in the office of the Clerk of the House, or laid upon the table, The latter usually means that they can be obtained from the Vote Office or seen in the Library. Papers which are not printed can be seen in the Library.

Printing of Bills and Acts of Parliament.

After the first reading of a Bill, which is really the presentation of the form obtained from the Public Bill Office, the Bill is ordered to be printed. Bills are printed free and circulated to Members without charge. A bill materially altered in Committee is re-printed. Private bills are printed folio size with a parchment cover upon which the title is written.

Acts of Parliament when passed are preserved in the House of Lords.

Messages between the Two Houses.

When a message is received in the Commons that the Lords desire their presence to receive the Royal Assent to Bills, Black Rod approaches the Commons, and after the usual ancient ceremonies have been observed, the Speaker and those Members present, whether there be a quorum or not, go to the Bar of the Lords.

Messages between the two Houses are resorted to almost daily for sending bills from one House to the other.

Adjournment of Parliament.

These are few and far between, and usually occur at the request of the Crown or by Royal Commission or Proclamation. The question is, however, entirely in the hands of each House. Adjournment does not close the Session. If Parliament stands adjourned on the demise of the Crown, it re-assembles immediately.

Prorogation.

Prorogation is the adjournment from one Session to another. It is effected by Royal Proclamation. When Parliament is prorogued, it puts an end to all business of the Session, and all Bills not carried through their entire stages are lost, and must be renewed afresh at the next Session. Private Bills are sometimes suspended from one Session to another. The proclamation also mentions the day on which Parliament shall meet again. Parliament cannot be prorogued without the passing of the Appropriation Act. A speech from the Throne is read by Commission whenever Parliament is prorogued.

Dissolution.

Dissolution is the end of a Parliament. It may be brought about by the pleasure of the Crown, the advice of the Prime Minister, or the fact that Parliament has run its legal lease of life—five years. Grants of supply sufficient to carry on the services until the assembly of a new Parliament must be granted before dissolution.

Parliament cannot dissolve until the passing of an Appropriation Act, and if it did all the money voted in Supply would be illegal. Dissolution ends all the business of the Parliament, although private Bills are sometimes suspended from one Parliament to another. The Speaker of a dissolved Parliament is deemed to be the Speaker until one is chosen by the new Parliament. The Proclamation dissolving the old Parliament also calls the new Parliament at a date any time not less than twenty days after Proclamation. Dissolution causes an election petition to drop.

Parliamentary Agents.

The duty of a parliamentary agent is to pilot a private Bill or petition through the necessary stages in

Parliament. He is personally responsible for the observance of the Standing Orders and payment of fees. He must be vouched for by a Member, justice of the peace, barrister or solicitor. He makes a declaration in the Private Bill Office that he will obey all Standing Orders, and pay all fees due on private Bills. He enters into a bond of £500 with two sureties of £250 each. Members of the House, either by their partners or themselves, may not be parliamentary agents, neither any officer or Clerk of the House. A parliamentary agent must not comment or reflect upon, or object to, a Member appointed to a committee to consider a private Bill. A complete list of parliamentary agents is kept in the Private Bill Office and known as the "Private Bill Register."

Unparliamentary Expressions.

In an august assembly such as the House of Commons, where political feeling at times runs extremely high, it is obvious that the dignity of the proceedings can only be preserved by the maintenance of the highest standard of courtesy in debate.

No one can listen to, or take part in, the discussions without coming to the conclusion that the "Mother of Parliaments" has nothing to fear in this respect from comparison with the national assemblies of the world. What at first appear to be mere artificialities of form in speech are seen to be skilfully contrived modes of address that assist in the avoidance of offence in moments of heat.

The House, as a body, is rightly jealous of its traditional dignity, and the Member, whether new or old, who violates that dignity by allowing himself any unbecoming liberty of expression may look for no sympathy from his fellow Members. They will rally almost as one man in support of the Speaker when he calls to task the offending Member, who should lose no time in withdrawing the expression to which exception is taken.

Precedents that are misleading.

In course of time a number of precedents have naturally been established, and a fairly well defined range of expressions have come to be regarded as " not in accordance with Parliamentary custom." It would not only be useless, however, but misleading, to present these in the form of a list. Any such list would inevitably contain expressions which, though their withdrawal has been demanded by Speakers in the past, might easily pass unchallenged in other circumstances.

As an example one may quote the phrase " *Arcades ambo*," which has been ruled an unparliamentary expression, whereas quite obviously it might frequently be used without giving the slightest offence. Such matters are governed by the intention of the Speaker and the context of the phrase.

The most useful method of dealing with the subject is to indicate in broad outline the basic principles upon which expressions are judged to be unparliamentary.

The First " Thou Shalt Not."

The first principle is one that stands at the base of all social intercourse. In plain language, it forbids one person calling another a liar, or even suggesting that his statements are the " reverse of truth." It must be admitted that Mr. Winston Churchill, always a master of phrase, once escaped unscathed after describing a certain statement as a " terminological inexactitude."

but experiments in circumlocutary methods of calling a man a liar almost invariably end in disaster in the House of Commons.

All charges of falsehood, in whatever language they are couched, are therefore unparliamentary when levelled against an " honourable member," and the Speaker's displeasure has also been incurred by such a phrase as " a falsified document."

Allegations of Dishonour.

The next principle, not less obvious, is that which forbids one honourable member to attribute dishonourable motives, methods, or actions to another honourable member. There are a wide range of expressions in this class that have come under the Speaker's ban. It has been held unparliamentary to suggest that a member is " advocating an unworthy cause," that he had mercenary motives in adopting a particular attitude, that he was " calumnious and malicious," that his conscience was either entirely missing or in abeyance, that he was dishonest and hypocritical, that he was guilty of sharp practice, and that he lacked straightforwardness.

A catalogue of these phrases would be superfluous, as they are of a character banned by common consent in all decent society.

A further refinement of this principle brings accusations of ungentlemanly conduct—and now, presumably, unladylike conduct—under the Speaker's ban. One must not refer to a member's " offensive bad taste," for instance, neither must one make charges of deliberate discourtesy.

Reflections on a Member's personal character and private conduct are, of course, strictly forbidden, and it is equally improper to cast aspersions on his courage.

Accusations of irreligion or atheism have repeatedly led to a demand from the Speaker for withdrawal, and offensive references to a Member's religious beliefs are naturally out of order.

Coarse Expressions.

It is hardly necessary to say that the grosser forms of offensiveness in speech are sternly forbidden. A few examples of such lapses from decorous language which in the past have called forth rebuke may be cited :—

> Beastly bellowing, bigoted malevolent young puppy, blasphemer, disgraced and beaten man, firebrand, grimaces of a mountebank and spite of a viper, go to hell, miserable hound, idiotic style, dictatorship of incapacity and intrigue, infamous and vile, Judas, murderous ruffian, Pharisees and hypocrites, poltroon, shuffling, snobs and swells, traitor, vermin, villain, and wretch.

Another point upon which it should hardly be necessary to offer guidance even to those least experienced in public life is the undesirability of suggesting that a Member is callous to the humane considerations that affect most civilised human beings. It is obviously in bad taste—and it is likewise unparliamentary—to describe a Member as " bloodthirsty " or " brutal and bloody."

However much one may disagree with the policy advocated by a Member, one has not the right to suggest that his object is to bring about civil war, that he is deliberately inciting people to break the law, or that he is pandering to treason. Charges of treason, though they are not unknown in the heat of debate, are always unparliamentary unless made under the proper procedure of the House.

Discrediting the House.

Reflections on Parliament as a whole have often been held improper, and a Member who once described the House of Commons as an assembly that had " lost its character as a deliberative body", was forced to withdraw the remark. In modern times, however, allegations closely approximating to this have been passed unchallenged. Even the most independent occupant of the Chair is naturally influenced in such matters by the sense of the House.

Offensive references to Foreign Powers with which this country is in friendly relations are never permitted to escape censure, and the suggestion that the Government had deliberately insulted such a Power would undoubtedly call forth a rebuke.

For the rest, what is and what is not an unparliamentary expression is mainly a matter of good taste, qualified, it must be admitted, by the " temperature " of the debate. When the atmosphere of the House is electric, and the slightest spark is likely to lead to an explosion of feeling, the Speaker naturally exercises a firmer control than in calmer moments.

The Member who is guided by good taste and good feelings needs no other mentor to protect him from the use of expressions " not in accordance with parliamentary custom."

Royal and Other Commissions.

The Royal Commission is a body constituted by Royal Warrant to conduct an enquiry for the purpose of gaining information as to existing laws, or on various other matters such as Railways, Public Records, London government, etc. They have power to call witnesses and send for persons, papers, and documents. If unusual powers are conferred upon a Royal Commission, a special Act of Parliament is necessary. Ordinary Commissions are almost invariably appointed under the Sign Manual. Commissioners are not paid for their services, although they may claim compensation for loss of time and labour in certain cases. Expenses of Royal Commissions are provided by Parliament.

Majority Report.

When a Commission has completed its labours, its report is forwarded to the King through the Home Secretary, by whose command the Report is subsequently presented to Parliament.

Minority Report.

If the Commissioners are not unanimous, those in the minority may record their views in a Memorandum signed personally.

A Royal Commission has no power to compel disclosure of documents, or to administer the oath, or compel a person to give evidence. It is doubtful whether Counsel has the right to appear before a Royal Commission and cross-examine witnesses.

Royal Commissions can be divided into two classes (1) Temporary Commissions, (2) Those of more or less permanent nature. The former includes such bodies as the Ancient and Historical Monuments Commissions, Public Records Commission, Paper and Paper-making Materials Commission, Sugar and Wheat Supply Commissions, whilst the more or less permanent Commissions, which are virtually government departments, include Lunacy Commission, Public Works Loans Commission, and the Railway and Canal Traffic Commission.

Mems. for Members to Remember.

You cannot put down a motion which would create a charge upon the people and is not recommended by the Crown.

You must not vote on a matter in which you have a direct, immediate, or personal pecuniary interest.

A private Member cannot make proposals for new taxes.

A motion for adjournment cannot be made until after questions and before the Orders of the Day.

Motions for adjournment are permitted on urgent public matters.

" Hear, Hear " is the only method by which you can express approval or disapproval in debate.

You must not stand on the floor of the House over the line at the Bar. You may stand, but uncovered, behind the Bar.

You must not read books or newspapers for pleasure in the House. You can however by leave of the Speaker quote from them in debate, provided the quotation does not relate to business of the same Session.

There is no appeal to the Speaker against a Chairman of Committee.

Committee Rooms can be had by Members for any purpose connected with their Parliamentary duties.

You must not cross the floor of the House between the Speaker and a Member who is speaking.

Always bow to the Speaker on leaving or entering.

No allusion in debate must be made to (1) any debate in the same Session, (2) the House of Lords, (3) the King's name. (1) and (2) are most honoured in the breach !

Never refer to a Member by his name, but as the " Hon. Member for Blank," the office he holds, etc., etc.

Never wear your hat when entering or leaving the House.

You must wear your hat when speaking (seated) to a point of order. This only takes place after a division has been called.

Never be irrelevant in debate or you will be told to sit down.

Before you take your seat for the first time remember to obtain your blue paper from the Clerk of the Crown in the Public Bill Office.

You can revise your speeches as printed in the daily parts of Hansard by forwarding the revise to the Editor.

No question can be put, and no debate allowed, on a personal explanation.

Personal explanations must be made before the commencement of public business.

Questions must not contain arguments but must be strictly confined to facts.

"Star" all questions for oral answer.

You cannot resign your seat. If you want to give up Membership, you must apply for the Chiltern Hundreds—an office of profit under the Crown.

Obtain a copy of "Standing Orders" and the book on procedure from the Vote Office.

You cannot vote by proxy in a division.

Books worth subscribing to:—"Dod," "Vacher," and the "Parliamentary Gazette."

Standing and Sessional Orders.

Below will be found a reprint of the Standing and Sessional Orders on public business in existence at the time of going to Press of this volume.

STANDING ORDERS RELATIVE TO PUBLIC BUSINESS.

Sittings of the House.

Sittings of the House.

1.—(1.) Unless the house otherwise order the house shall meet every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday at a quarter to three of the clock.

(2.) At half-past eleven of the clock the speaker shall adjourn the house without question put, unless a bill originating in committee of ways and means, or unless proceedings made in pursuance of any act of parliament or standing order, or otherwise exempted as hereinafter provided from the operation of this standing order, be then under consideration.

(3.) At eleven of the clock on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, except as aforesaid, and at five of the clock on Fridays, the proceedings on any business then under consideration shall be interrupted; and, if the house be in committee, the chairman shall leave the chair, and make his report to the house; and if a motion has been proposed for the adjournment of the house, or of the debate, or in committee that the chairman do report progress or do leave the chair, every such dilatory motion shall lapse without question put.

(4.) Provided always, that on the interruption of business the closure may be moved; and if moved, or if proceedings under the closure rule be then in progress, the speaker or chairman shall not leave the chair until the questions consequent thereon and on any further motion, as provided in the rule "closure of debate," have been decided.

(5.) After the business under consideration at eleven and five, respectively, has been disposed of, no opposed business shall be taken.

(6.) All business appointed for any sitting, and not disposed of before the termination of the sitting, shall stand over until the next sitting, or until such other sitting on any day on which the house ordinarily sits as the member in charge of the business may appoint.

(7.) A motion may be made by a minister of the Crown at the commencement of public business, to be decided without amendment or debate to the following effect: "That the proceedings on any specified business be exempted at this day's sitting from the provisions of the standing order 'sittings of the house,'" and, if such a motion be agreed to, the business so specified shall not be interrupted if it is under discussion at eleven o'clock that night, may be entered upon at any hour although opposed; and, if under discussion when the business is postponed, may be resumed and proceeded with, though opposed, after the interruption of business.

(8.) Provided always, that after any business exempted from the operation of this order is disposed of, the remaining business of the sitting shall be dealt with according to the provisions applicable to business taken after eleven o'clock.

(9.) Provided also that the chairman or deputy-chairman of ways and means do take the chair as deputy speaker, when requested so to do by Mr. Speaker, without any formal communication to the house; and that Mr. Speaker shall nominate at the commencement of every session, a panel of not more than five members to act as temporary chairmen of committees, when requested by the chairman of ways and means.

Duration of Friday sittings.

2. The house shall meet every Friday, at twelve o'clock at noon, for private business, petitions, orders of the day, and notices of motions, and shall continue to sit until half-past five o'clock, unless previously adjourned.

Termination of Friday sittings.

3. When such business has been disposed of, or at half-past five o'clock precisely, notwithstanding there may be business under discussion, Mr. Speaker shall adjourn the house without putting any question.

ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

Precedence of business at different sittings.

4. Unless the house otherwise direct—

(*a*) Government business shall have precedence at every sitting except after a quarter-past eight on Tuesday and Wednesday and the sitting on Friday;

(*b*) After a quarter-past eight on Tuesday and Wednesday notices of motion and public bills, other than government bills, shall have precedence of government business, and any government business then under consideration shall, without question put, be postponed until the business having precedence of it is disposed of;

(*c*) After Easter government business shall have precedence during the whole of Tuesday;

(*d*) After Whitsuntide, until Michaelmas, government business shall have precedence at all sittings, except the sittings on the third and fourth Fridays after Whit Sunday;

(*e*) After a quarter-past eight, when government business has not precedence notices of motion shall have precedence of the orders of the day;

(*f*) At the sittings on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday the house will first proceed with petitions, motions for unopposed returns, and leave of absence to members, giving notices of motions, and unopposed private business.

Arrangement of government business.

5. On days on which government business has priority, the government may arrange such government business, whether orders of the day or notices of motions, in such order as they may think fit.

Precedence of bills after Whitsuntide.

6. After Whitsuntide, public bills, other than government bills, shall be arranged on the order book so as to give priority to the bills most advanced, and lords' amendments to public bills appointed to be considered shall be placed first, to be followed by third readings, considerations of report, bills in progress in committee, bills appointed for committee, and second readings.

Period for which notices of motion may be given.

7. No notice shall be given beyond the period which shall include the four days next following on which notices

are entitled to precedence; due allowance being made for any intervening adjournment of the house, and the period being in that case so far extended as to include four notice days falling during the sitting of the house.

Money Committees [*Reports*].

7A. The proceedings on the reports of the committee of ways and means and committees authorising the expenditure of public money, except the committee of supply, may be entered upon after eleven of the clock though opposed, and shall not be interrupted under the provisions of the standing order "sittings of the house."

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Time for taking private business.

8.—(1.) No opposed private business shall be set down for the sittings on Friday, or for a quarter-past eight on Wednesday between Easter and Whitsuntide.

(2.) All private business which is set down for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday, and is not disposed of by three of the clock shall, without question put, be postponed until such time as the chairman of ways and means may determine.

(3.) Provided that such private business shall always be taken at a quarter-past eight on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday, or as soon thereafter as any motion for the adjournment of the house standing over has been disposed of, and that such postponed business shall be distributed as near as may be proportionately between the sittings on which government business has precedence and the other sittings.

(4.) No opposed private business other than that under consideration shall be taken after half-past nine of the clock.

(5.) Unopposed private business shall have precedence of opposed private business.

QUESTIONS.

Questions to members.

9.—(1.) Notices of questions shall be given by members in writing to the clerk at the table without reading them *viva voce* in the house, unless the consent of the speaker to any particular question has been previously obtained.

(2.) Questions shall be taken on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, after private business has been disposed of, and not later than three of the clock.

(3.) No questions shall be taken after a quarter before four of the clock, except questions which have not been answered in consequence of the absence of the minister to whom they are addressed, and questions which have not appeared on the paper, but which are of an urgent character, and relate either to matters of public importance or to the arrangement of business.

(4.) Any member who desires an oral answer to his question may distinguish it by an asterisk, but notice of any such question must appear at latest on the notice paper circulated on the day before that on which an answer is desired.

(5.) If any member does not distinguish his question by an asterisk, or if he or any other member deputed by him is not present to ask it, or if it is not reached by a quarter before four of the clock, the minister to whom it is addressed shall cause an answer to be printed in the Official Report of the Parliamentary Debates, unless the member has signified his desire to postpone the question.

ADJOURNMENT ON MATTER OF PUBLIC IMPORTANCE.

Motion for adjournment on matters of urgent public importance.

10.—No motion for the adjournment of the house shall be made until all the questions asked at the commencement of business on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday have been disposed of, and no such motion shall be made before the orders of the day or notices of motion have been entered upon, except by leave of the house, unless a member rising in his place shall propose to move the adjournment for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, and not less than forty members shall thereupon rise in their places to support the motion, or unless, if fewer than forty members and not less than ten shall thereupon rise in their places, the house shall, on a division, upon question put forthwith, determine whether such motion shall be made. If the motion is so supported, or the house so determines that it shall be made, it shall stand over until a quarter-past eight on the same day.

ANTICIPATION.

Anticipation.

10A. In determining whether a discussion is out of order on the ground of *anticipation*, regard shall be had by Mr. Speaker to the probability of the matter anticipated being brought before the House within a reasonable time.

Bringing in Bills and Nominating Select Committees at Commencement of Public Business.

Motions for leave to bring in bills and nomination of select committees at commencement of public business.

11. On Tuesdays and Wednesdays, and, if set down by the Government, on Mondays and Thursdays, motions for leave to bring in bills, and for the nomination of select committees, may be set down for consideration at the commencement of public business. If such motions be opposed, Mr. Speaker, after permitting, if he thinks fit, a brief explanatory statement from the member who moves and from the member who opposes any such

motion respectively, may, without further debate, put the question thereon, or the question, that the debate be now adjourned.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Orders of day to be read without question put.

12. At the time fixed for the commencement of public business, on days on which orders have precedence of notices of motions, and after the notices of motions have been disposed of, on all other days, Mr. Speaker shall direct the clerk at the table to read the orders of the day, without any question being put.

Order of disposing of orders of day.

13. The orders of the day shall be disposed of in the order in which they stand upon the paper; the right being reserved to His Majesty's ministers of placing government orders or motions at the head of the list, in the rotation in which they are to be taken on the days on which government bills have precedence.

SUPPLY AND WAYS AND MEANS.

Appointment of committees.

14. This house will, in future, appoint the committees of supply and ways and means at the commencement of every session, so soon as an address has been agreed to, in answer to His Majesty's speech.

Business of supply.

15. (1.) As soon as the committee of supply has been appointed and estimates have been presented, the business of supply shall, until disposed of, be the first order of the day on Thursday, unless the house otherwise order on the motion of a minister of the Crown, moved at the commencement of public business, to be decided without amendment or debate.

(2.) Not more than twenty days, being days before the 5th of August, shall be allotted for the consideration of the annual estimates for the army, navy, air force, and civil services, including votes on account. The days allotted shall not include any day on which the question has to be put that the speaker do leave the chair, or any day on which the business of supply does not stand as first order.

(3.) Provided that the days occupied by the consideration of estimates supplementary to those of a previous session or of any vote of credit, or of votes for supplementary or additional estimates presented by the government for war expenditure, or for any new service not included in the ordinary estimates for the year, shall not be included in the computation of the twenty days aforesaid.

(4.) Provided also that on motion made after notice, to be decided without amendment or debate, additional time, not exceeding three days, may be allotted for the purposes aforesaid, either before or after the 5th of August.

(5.) On a day so allotted, no business other than the business of supply shall be taken before eleven, and no business in committee or proceedings on report of supply shall be taken after eleven, whether a general order exempting business from interruption under the standing order (sittings of the house) is in force or not, unless the house otherwise order on the motion of a minister of the Crown, moved at the commencement of public business, to be decided without amendment or debate.

(6.) Of the days so allotted, not more than one day in committee shall be allotted to any vote on account, and not more than one sitting to the report of that vote. At eleven on the close of the day on which the committee on that vote is taken, and at the close of the sitting on which the report of that vote is taken, the chairman of committees or the speaker, as the case may be, shall forthwith put every question necessary to dispose of the vote or the report.

(7.) At ten of the clock on the last day but one of the days so allotted the chairman shall forthwith put every question necessary to dispose of the vote then under consideration, and shall then forthwith put the question with respect to each class of the civil service estimates that the total amount of the votes outstanding in that class be granted for the services defined in the class, and shall in like manner put severally the questions that the total amounts of the votes outstanding in the estimates for the navy, the army, the air force, and the revenue departments be granted for the services defined in those estimates.

(8.) At ten of the clock on the last, not being earlier than the twentieth, of the allotted days, the speaker shall forthwith put every question necessary to dispose of the report of the resolution then under consideration, and shall then forthwith put, with respect to each class of the civil service estimates, the question that the house doth agree with the committee in all the outstanding resolutions reported in respect of that class, and shall then put a like question with respect to all the resolutions outstanding in the estimates for the navy, the army, the air force, the revenue departments, and other outstanding resolutions severally.

(9.) On the days appointed for concluding the business of supply, the consideration of that business shall not be anticipated by a motion of adjournment, and no dilatory motion shall be moved on proceedings for that business and the business shall not be interrupted under any standing order.

(10.) Any additional estimate for any new matter not included in the original estimates for the year shall be submitted for consideration in the committee of supply on some day not later than two days before the committee is closed.

(11.) For the purposes of this order two Fridays shall be deemed equivalent to a single sitting or any other day.

Days for committees of supply and ways and means.

16. The committees of supply and ways and means shall be fixed for Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and may also be appointed for any other day on which the house shall meet for despatch of business.

When chair to be left without question put.

17. Whenever the committee of supply stands as an order of the day, Mr. Speaker shall leave the chair without putting any question, unless on first going into supply on the army, navy, air force, or civil service estimates respectively, or on any vote of credit, an amendment be moved, or question raised, relating to the estimates proposed to be taken in supply.

ORDER IN THE HOUSE.

Order in debate.

18.—(1.) Whenever any member shall have been named by the speaker, or by the chairman of a committee of the whole house, immediately after the commission of the offence of disregarding the authority of the chair, or of abusing the rules of the house by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the house, or otherwise, then, if the offence has been committed by such member in the house, the speaker shall forthwith put the question on a motion being made, no amendment, adjournment, or debate being allowed, " That such member be suspended from the service of the house ;" and, if the offence has been committed in a committee of the whole house, the chairman shall forthwith suspend the proceedings of the committee and report the circumstance to the house ;

and the speaker shall on a motion being made thereupon put the same question, without amendment, adjournment, or debate, as if the offence had been committed in the house itself.

(2.) If any member be suspended under this order, his suspension on the first occasion; *shall be for one week, on the second occasion for a fortnight, on the third or any subsequent occasion, for a month.*

(3.) Provided always, that suspension from the service of the house shall not exempt the member so suspended from serving on any committee for the consideration of a private bill to which he may have been appointed before his suspension.

(4.) Provided also, that not more than one member shall be named at the same time, unless several members, present together, have jointly disregarded the authority of the chair.

(5.) Provided also, that if any member, or members acting jointly, who have been suspended under this order from the service of the house, shall refuse to obey the direction of the speaker, when severally summoned under the speaker's orders by the sergeant-at-arms to obey such direction, the speaker shall call the attention of the house to the fact that recourse to force is necessary in order to compel obedience to his direction, and the member or members named by him as having refused to obey his direction shall thereupon and without further question put, be suspended from the service of the house during the remainder of the session.

(6.) Provided always, that nothing in this resolution shall be taken to deprive the house of the power of proceeding against any member according to ancient usages.

Note.—The words printed in italics were struck out on the 13*th February,* 1902, *but the proceedings on the amendment of the standing order were not resumed after the* 17*th February,* 1902.

Irrelevance or repetition.

19. Mr. Speaker or the chairman, after having called the attention of the house, or of the committee, to the conduct of a member, who persists in irrelevance, or tedious repetition either of his own arguments, or of the arguments used by other members in debate, may direct him to discontinue his speech.

Disorderly conduct.

20.—(1.) Mr. Speaker or the Chairman shall order members whose conduct is grossly disorderly to withdraw immediately from the house during the remainder of that day's sitting ; and the sergeant-at-arms shall act on such orders as he may receive from the chair in pursuance of this resolution. But if, on any occasion, Mr. Speaker or the chairman deems that his powers under this standing order are inadequate, he may name such member or members in pursuance of the standing order " Order in debate," or he may call upon the house to adjudge upon the conduct of such member or members.

(2.) Provided always, that members who are ordered to withdraw under this standing order, or who are suspended from the service of the house under the standing order " Order in debate," shall forthwith withdraw from the precincts of the house, subject, however, in the case of such suspended members, to the proviso in that standing order regarding their service on private bill committees.

Power of speaker to adjourn house or suspend sitting.

21. In the case of grave disorder arising in the house the speaker may, if he thinks it necessary to do so, adjourn the house without question put, or suspend any sitting for a time to be named by him.

Debate on motion for adjournment.

22. When a motion is made for the adjournment of a debate, or of the house during any debate, or that the chairman of a committee do report progress, or do leave the chair, the debate thereupon shall be confined to the matter of such motion; and no member, having moved or seconded any such motion, shall be entitled to move, or second, any similar motion during the same debate.

Dilatory motion in abuse of rules of house.

23. If Mr. Speaker, or the chairman of a committee of the whole house, shall be of opinion that a motion for the adjournment of a debate, or of the house, during any debate or that the chairman do report progress, or do leave the chair, is an abuse of the rules of the house, he may forthwith put the question thereupon from the chair, or he may decline to propose the question thereupon to the house.

Adjournment from Friday to Monday.

24. While the committees of supply and ways and means are open, the house, when it meets on Friday, shall, at its rising, stand adjourned until the following Monday without any question being put, unless the house shall otherwise resolve.

Counting out.

25. The house shall not be counted between a quarter-past eight and a quarter-past nine o'clock, but if on a division taken on any business between a quarter-past eight and a quarter-past nine o'clock it appears that forty members are not present, the business shall stand over until the next sitting of the house, and the next business shall be taken.

Closure of debate.

26.—(1.) After a question has been proposed a member rising in his place may claim to move, "That the question be now put," and, unless it shall appear to the chair that such motion is an abuse of the rules of the house, or an infringement of the rights of the minority, the question, "That the question be now put," shall be put forthwith and decided without amendment or debate.

(2.) When the motion "That the question be now put" has been carried, and the question consequent thereon has been decided, any further motion may be made (the assent of the chair, as aforesaid, not having been withheld) which may be requisite to bring to a decision any question already proposed from the chair; and also if a clause be then under consideration, a motion may be made (the assent of the chair as aforesaid, not having been withheld), that the question, that certain words of the clause defined in the motion stand part of the clause, or that the clause stand part of, or be added to, the bill, be now put. Such motions shall be put forthwith, and decided without amendment or debate.

(3.) Provided always that this rule shall be put in force only when the speaker or the chairman of ways and means or deputy chairman is in the chair.

Majority for closure.

27. Questions for the closure of debate under standing order "Closure of debate" shall be decided in the affirmative, if, when a division be taken, it appears by the numbers declared from the chair, that not less than one hundred members voted in the majority in support of the motion.

Selection of Amendments.

27A In respect of any motion or any bill under consideration either in committee of the whole house or on report, Mr. Speaker, or in committee the chairman of ways and means, and the deputy chairman, shall have power to select the new clauses or amendments to be proposed, and may, if he thinks fit, call upon any member who has given notice of an amendment to give such explanation of the object of the amendment as may enable him to form a judgment upon it.

DIVISIONS.

Procedure on divisions.

28.—(1.) If the opinion of the speaker or chairman as to the decision of a question is challenged he shall direct that the lobby be cleared.

(2.) After the lapse of two minutes from this direction he shall put the question again, and, if his opinion is again challenged, he shall nominate tellers.

(3.) After the lapse of six minutes from this direction he shall direct that the doors giving access to the division lobbies be locked.

Voting of members.

29.—(1.) A member may vote in a division although he did not hear the question put.

(2.) A member is not obliged to vote.

Division unnecessarily claimed.

30. Mr. Speaker or the chairman may, after the lapse of two minutes, if in his opinion the division is unnecessarily claimed, take the vote of the house, or committee, by calling upon the members who support, and who challenge his decision, successively to rise in their places; and he shall thereupon, as he thinks fit, either declare the determination of the house or committee, or name tellers for a division.

Presentation or introduction and first reading.

31.—(1.) When any bill shall be presented by a member, in pursuance of an order of this house, or shall be brought from the Lords, the questions "That this bill be now read a first time," and "That this bill be printed," shall be decided without amendment or debate.

(2.) A member may, if he thinks fit, after notice, present a bill without an order of the house for its introduction; and when a bill is so presented, the title of the bill shall be read by the clerk at the table, and the bill shall then be deemed to have been read a first time, and shall be printed.

Second and Third Readings.

31A. If on an amendment to the question that a bill be now read a second time or the third time it is decided that the word "now" or any words proposed to be left out stand part of the question, Mr. Speaker shall forthwith declare the bill to be read a second or the third time as the case may be.

Procedure on reading order for committee.

32. When a bill or other matter (except supply or ways and means) has been partly considered in committee, and the chairman has been directed to report progress, and ask leave to sit again, and the house shall have ordered that the committee shall sit again on a particular day, the speaker shall, when the order for the committee has been read, forthwith leave the chair without putting any question, and the house shall thereupon resolve itself into such committee.

Reference of bills together to committee.

33. Bills which may be fixed for consideration in committee on the same day, whether in progress or otherwise, may be referred together to a committee of the

whole house, which may consider on the same day all the bills so referred to it, without the chairman leaving the chair on each separate bill; provided that, with respect to any bill not in progress, if any member shall object to its consideration in committee, together with other bills, the order of the day for the committee on such bill shall be postponed.

Amendments in committee.

34. It shall be an instruction to all committees of the whole house to which bills may be committed, that they have power to make such amendments therein as they shall think fit, provided they be relevant to the subject matter of the bill; but that if any such amendments shall not be within the title of the bill, they do amend the title accordingly, and do report the same specially to the house.

Postponement of preamble.

35. In committee on a bill, the preamble shall stand postponed until after the consideration of the clauses, without question put.

Discontinuance of first and second reading stages in committee.

36. The questions for reading a bill a first and second time in a committee of the whole house shall be discontinued.

Questions not to be put on blanks.

37. In going through a bill no questions shall be put for the filling up words already printed in *italics*, and commonly called blanks, unless exception be taken thereto; and if no alterations have been made in the words so printed in *italics*, the bill shall be reported without amendments, unless other amendments have been made thereto.

Procedure on offer of new clause.

38. On a clause being offered in the committee on the bill, or on the consideration of report of a bill, Mr. Speaker or the chairman shall desire the member to bring up the same, whereupon it shall be read a first time without question put, but no clause shall be offered on consideration of report without notice.

Report of bill.

39. At the close of the proceedings of a committee of the whole house on a bill, the chairman shall report the bill forthwith to the house, and when amendments shall have been made thereto, the same shall be received, without debate, and a time appointed for taking the same into consideration.

Consideration of bill as amended.

40. When the order of the day for the consideration of a bill, as amended in the committee of the whole house, has been read, the house shall proceed to consider the same without question put, unless the member in charge thereof shall desire to postpone its consideration, or a motion shall be made to re-commit the bill.

Re-committal of a Bill.

40A. If a motion to re-commit a bill be opposed, Mr. Speaker shall permit a brief explanatory statement of the reasons for such re-committal from the member who moves and from a member who opposes any such motion respectively, and shall without further debate put the question thereon.

Amendments on report.

41. Upon the report stage of any bill no amendment may be proposed which could not have been proposed in committee without an instruction from the house.

Amendments on third reading.

42. No amendments not being merely verbal, shall be made to any bill on the third reading.

Lords' amendments.

43. Lords' amendments to public bills shall be appointed to be considered on a future day, unless the house shall order them to be considered forthwith.

Pecuniary penalties.

44. With respect to any bill brought to this house from the House of Lords, or returned by the House of Lords to this house, with amendments, whereby any pecuniary penalty, forfeiture, or fee shall be authorised, imposed, appropriated, regulated, varied, or extinguished, this house will not insist on its ancient and undoubted privileges in the following cases :—

1. When the object of such pecuniary penalty or forfeiture is to secure the execution of the act, or the punishment or prevention of offences.
2. Where such fees are imposed in respect of benefit taken or service rendered under the act, and in order to the execution of the act, and are not made payable into the treasury or exchequer, or in aid of the public revenue, and do not form the ground of public accounting by the parties receiving the same, either in respect of deficit or surplus.
3. When such bill shall be a private bill for a local or personal act.

Temporary laws.

45. The precise duration of every temporary law shall be expressed in a distinct clause at the end of the bill.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Committal of bills.

46.—(1.) When a bill has been read a second time it shall stand committed to one of the standing committees, unless the house, on motion to be decided without amendment or debate, otherwise order; and such a motion shall not require notice, must be made immediately after the bill is read a second time, may be made by any member, and may, though opposed, be decided after the expiration of the time for opposed business. But this order shall not apply to—

(*a*) Bills for imposing taxes or Consolidated Fund or Appropriation Bills; or

(*b*) Bills for confirming Provisional Orders.

(2.) Provided that the house may, on motion made by the member in charge of a bill, commit the bill to a standing committee in respect of some of its provisions, and to a committee of the whole house in respect of other provisions, and that if such a motion is opposed the speaker, after permitting, if he thinks fit, a brief explanatory statement from the member who makes and from the member who opposes the motion, shall without further debate put the question thereon.

(3.) Where a bill has been committed to a standing committee, or has been so committed in respect of any provision, then, at the report stage of the bill or provision, the rule against speaking more than once shall not apply to the member in charge of the bill or to the mover of any amendment or new clause in respect of that amendment or clause.

Constitution of standing committees.

47.—(1.) Six standing committees shall be appointed for the consideration of bills or other business referred to a standing committee, and the procedure in those committees shall be the same as in a select committee unless the house otherwise order. Standing committees may sit during the sitting, and notwithstanding any adjournment of the house. On a division being called in the house, the chairman of a standing committee shall suspend the proceedings in the committee for such time as will, in his opinion, enable members to vote in the division. Any notice of amendment to a bill which has been committed to a standing committee shall stand referred to the standing committee. The quorum of a standing committee shall be twenty. Strangers shall be admitted to the standing committee except when the committee shall order them to withdraw.

(2.) One of the standing committees shall be appointed for the consideration of all public bills relating exclusively to Scotland and committed to a standing committee, and shall consist of all the members representing Scottish constituencies, together with not less than ten nor more than fifteen other members to be nominated in respect of any bill by the committee of selection, who shall have regard in such nomination to the approximation of the balance of parties in the committee to that in the whole house, and shall have power from time to time to discharge, for non-attendance or at their own request, the members so nominated by them, and to appoint others in substitution for those discharged.

(3). Subject as aforesaid the bills committed to a standing committee shall be distributed among the committees by Mr. Speaker.

(4) In all but one of the standing committees government bills shall have precedence.

(5.) Standing order No. 19 (as to irrelevance and repetition) and standing orders Nos. 26 and 27 (as to closure) shall apply to standing committees, with the substitution in standing order No. 26 of the chairman of the committee for the chairman of ways and means, and, in standing order No. 27 of 20 for 100 as the number necessary to render the majority effective for the closure, and the chairman of a standing committee shall have the like powers as the chairman of a committee of the whole house has under standing order No. 23 (as to dilatory motions).

Nomination of standing committees.

48. Each of the said standing committees shall consist of not less than forty nor more than sixty members, to be nominated by the committee of selection, who shall have regard to the classes of bills committed to such committees, to the composition of the house, and to the qualifications of the members selected; and shall have power to discharge members from time to time, for non-attendance or at their own request, and to appoint others in substitution for those discharged. Provided that, for the consideration of all public bills relating exclusively to Wales and Monmouthshire, the committee shall be so constituted as to comprise all members sitting for constituencies in Wales and Monmouthshire. The committee of selection shall also have power to add not less than ten nor more than fifteen members to a standing committee in respect of any bill referred to it, to serve on the committee during the consideration of such bill. Provided that this order shall not apply to the standing committee on Scottish bills.

Chairmen of standing committees.

49. The committee of selection shall nominate a chairmen's panel to consist of not less than eight nor more than twelve members, of whom three shall be a quorum; and the chairmen's panel shall appoint from among themselves the chairman of each standing committee, and may change the chairman so appointed from time to time.

Adjournment of the House (Standing Committees).

49A. In order to facilitate the business of standing committees, a motion may, after two days' notice, be made by a minister of the Crown at the commencement of public business, to be decided without amendment or debate, "that this house do now adjourn," provided that if on a day on which a motion is agreed to under this standing order leave has been given to move the adjournment of the house for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, Mr. Speaker, instead of adjourning the house, shall suspend the sitting only until a quarter-past eight of the clock.

Report of bills committed to Standing Committees.

50. All bills which shall have been committed to one of the said standing committees shall, when reported to the house, be proceeded with as if they had been reported from a committee of the whole house : Provided only, that all bills reported from a standing committee, whether amended or not, shall be considered on report by the house without question put, unless the member in charge thereof desire to postpone its consideration, or a motion be made to re-commit the bill.

COMMITTEES OF THE WHOLE HOUSE.

When speaker leaves chair without question put.

51. Whenever an order of the day is read for the house to resolve itself into committee (not being a committee to consider a message from the Crown, or the committee of supply, or the committee on the East India revenue accounts), Mr. Speaker shall leave the chair without putting any question, and the house shall thereupon resolve itself into such committee, unless notice of an instruction thereto has been given, when such instruction shall be first disposed of.

When chairman of committee leaves chair without question put.

52. When the chairman of a committee has been ordered to make a report to the house, he shall leave the chair without question put.

Report to be brought up without question put.

53. Every report from a committee of the whole house shall be brought up without any question being put.

SELECT COMMITTEE.

Sittings.

54. All committees shall have leave to sit, except while the house is at prayers, during the sitting, and notwithstanding any adjournment of the house.

Number.

55. No select committee shall, without leave of the house, consist of more than fifteen members; such leave shall not be moved for without notice; and in the case of members proposed to be added or substituted, after the first appointment of the committee, the notice shall include the names of the members proposed to be added or substituted.

Consent of members.

56. Every member intending to move for the appointment of a select committee shall endeavour to ascertain previously whether each member proposed to be named by him on such committee will give his attendance thereupon.

Notice of names of members.

57. Every member intending to move for the appointment of a select committee shall, one day next before the nomination of such committee, place on the notices the names of the members intended to be proposed by him to be members of such committee.

List of serving members.

58. Lists shall be affixed in some conspicuous place in the committee office and in the lobby of the house of all members serving on each select committee.

Entry of questions asked.

59. To every question asked of a witness under examination in the proceedings of any select committee there shall be prefixed in the minutes of the evidence the name of the member asking such question.

Entry of members attending.

60. The names of the members present each day on the sitting of any select committee shall be entered on the minutes of evidence or on the minutes of the proceedings of the committee (as the case may be), and reported to the house on the report of such committee.

Entry of divisions.

61. In the event of any division taking place in any select committee, the question proposed, the name of the proposer, and the respective votes thereupon of each member present, shall be entered on the minutes of evidence, or on the minutes of the proceedings of the committee (as the case may be), and reported to the house on the report of such committee.

Quorum.

62. If at any time during the sitting of a select committee of this house the quorum of members fixed by the house shall not be present, the clerk of the committee shall call the attention of the chairman to the fact, who shall thereupon suspend the proceedings of the committee until a quorum be present, or adjourn the committee to some future day.

Power to report opinion and observations.

63. Every select committee having power to send for persons, papers, and records, shall have leave to report their opinion and observations, together with the minutes of evidence taken before them, to the house, and also to make a special report of any matters which they may think fit to bring to the notice of the house.

Notice of prayers.

64. The sergeant-at-arms attending this house shall, from time to time, when the house is going to prayers, give notice thereof to all committees; and all proceedings of committees, after such notice, are declared to be null and void, unless such committees be otherwise empowered to sit after prayers.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO KING'S SPEECH.

Discontinuance of stages on address in answer to King's Speech.

65. The stages of committee and report on the address to His Majesty to convey the thanks of the house for His Majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, at the opening of the session, shall be discontinued.

PUBLIC MONEY.

Recommendation from Crown required on application relating to public money.

66. This house will receive no petition for any sum relating to public service, or proceed upon any motion for a grant or charge upon the public revenue, whether payable out of the consolidated fund or out of money to be provided by parliament, unless recommended from the Crown.

Proceedings relating to public money to be initiated in committee.

67. This house will not proceed upon any petition, motion, or bill, for granting any money, or for releasing or compounding any sum of money owing, to the Crown, but in a committee of the whole house.

Restriction on receipt of petitions relating to public money.

68. This house will not receive any petition for compounding any sum of money owing to the Crown, upon any branch of the revenue, without a certificate from the

proper officer or officers annexed to the said petition, stating the debt, what prosecutions have been made for the recovery of such debt, and setting forth how much the petitioner and his security are able to satisfy thereof.

Procedure on address to Crown for issue of public money.

69. This house will not proceed upon any motion for an address to the crown, praying that any money may be issued, or that any expense may be incurred, but in a committee of the whole house.

Procedure on application for charge on revenues of India.

70. This house will not receive any petition, or proceed upon any motion for a charge upon the revenues of India, but what is recommended by the Crown.

Procedure on motion for charge on public revenue.

71. If any motion be made in the house for any aid, grant, or charge upon the public revenue, whether payable out of the consolidated fund or out of money to be provided by parliament, or for any charge upon the people, the consideration and debate thereof shall not be presently entered upon, but shall be adjourned till such further day as the house shall think fit to appoint, and then it shall be referred to a committee of the whole house before any resolution or vote of the house do pass therein.

Money Committees.

71A. Notwithstanding any standing order or custom of the house, if notice is given of a resolution authorising expenditure in connection with a bill, the house may, if the recommendation of the Crown is signified thereto, at any time after such notice appears on the paper resolve itself into committee to consider the resolution, and the resolution, when reported, may be considered forthwith by the house.

Consolidated Fund Issues.

71B. A resolution authorising the issue of money out of the consolidated fund reported from the committee of ways and means may be considered forthwith by the house, and the consideration on report and third reading of a bill ordered to be brought in upon such a resolution or resolutions may be taken forthwith as soon as the bill has been reported from committee of the whole house.

PACKET AND TELEGRAPHIC CONTRACTS.

Contracts to be approved by resolution.

72. In all contracts extending over a period of years, and creating a public charge, actual or prospective, entered into by the government for the conveyance of mails by sea, or for the purpose of telegraphic communications beyond sea, there should be inserted the condition that the contract shall not be binding until it has been approved of by a resolution of the house.

Contracts to be laid on table.

73. Every such contract, when executed, shall forthwith, if parliament be then sitting, or, if parliament be not then sitting, within fourteen days after it assembles, be laid upon the table of the house, accompanied by a minute of the lords of the treasury, setting forth the grounds on which they have proceeded in authorising it.

Contracts to be confirmed by public act.

74. In cases where any such contract requires to be confirmed by act of parliament, the bill for that purpose shall not be introduced and dealt with as a private bill, and power to the government to enter into agreements by which obligations at the public charge shall be undertaken shall not be given in any private act.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Committee of public accounts.

75. There shall be a standing committee, to be designated "the committee of public accounts," for the examination of the accounts showing the appropriation of the sums granted by parliament to meet the public expenditure, to consist of eleven members, who shall be nominated at the commencement of every session, and of whom five shall be a quorum.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Presentation of petitions.

76. Every member offering to present a petition to the house, not being a petition for a private bill, or relating to a private bill before the house, shall confine himself to a statement of the parties from whom it comes, of the number of signatures attached to it, and of the material allegations contained in it, and to the reading of the prayer of such petition.

No debate on presentation.

77. Every such petition not containing matter in breach of the privileges of this house, and which, according to the rules or usual practice of this house, can be received, shall be brought to the table by the direction of the speaker, who shall not allow any debate, or any member to speak upon, or in relation to such petition ; but it may be read by the clerk at the table, if required.

Petition as to present personal grievance.

78. In the case of such petition complaining of some present personal grievance, for which there may be an urgent necessity for providing an immediate remedy, the matter contained in such petition may be brought into discussion on the presentation thereof.

Reference of petitions to committee on public petitions.

79. All other such petitions, after they shall have been ordered to lie on the table, shall be referred to the committee on public petitions, without any question being put; but if any such petition relate to any matter or subject with respect to which the member presenting it has given notice of a motion, and the said petition has not been ordered to be printed by the committee, such member may, after notice given, move that such petition be printed with the votes.

Petitions against imposition of a tax.

80. Subject to the above regulations, petitions against any resolution or bill imposing a tax or duty for the current service of the year shall be henceforth received, and the usage under which the house has refused to entertain such petitions shall be discontinued.

SPEAKER.

Deputy speaker and deputy chairman.

81.—(1.) Whenever the house shall be informed by the clerk at the table of the unavoidable absence of Mr. Speaker the chairman of the committee of ways and means shall perform the duties and exercise the authority of speaker in relation to all proceedings of this house, as deputy speaker, until the next meeting of the house, and so on from day to day, on the like information being given to the house, until the house shall otherwise order: provided that if the house shall adjourn for more than twenty-four hours the deputy speaker shall continue to perform the duties and exercise the authority of speaker for twenty-four hours only after such adjournment.

(2.) At the commencement of every parliament, or from time to time, as necessity may arise, the house may appoint a deputy chairman, who shall, whenever the chairman of ways and means is absent from the chair, be entitled to exercise all the powers vested in the chairman of ways and means, including his powers as deputy speaker.

MEMBERS.

Seats not to be taken before prayers.

82. No member's name shall be affixed to any seat in the house before the hour of prayers; and the speaker shall give directions to the doorkeepers accordingly.

Seats secured at prayers.

83. Any member having secured a seat at prayers shall be entitled to retain the same until the rising of the house.

Time for taking the oath.

84. Members may take and subscribe the oath required by law at any time during the sitting of the house, before the orders of the day and notices of motions have been entered upon, or after they have been disposed of; but no debate or business shall be interrupted for that purpose.

Affirmation in lieu of oath.

85. Every person returned as a member of this house, who may claim to be a person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration instead of taking an oath, shall henceforth (notwithstanding so much of the resolution adopted by this house on the 22nd day of June, 1880, as relates to affirmation) be permitted without question, to make and subscribe a solemn affirmation in the form prescribed by the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, as altered by the Promissory Oaths Act, 1868, subject to any liability by statute.

WITNESSES.

Administration of oath in house.

86. Any oath or affirmation taken or made by any witness before the house, or a committee of the whole house, may be administered by the clerk at the table.

Administration of Oath in Select Committee.

87. Any oath or affirmation taken or made by any witness before a select committee may be administered by the chairman, or by the clerk attending such committee.

STRANGERS.

Power of serjeant-at-arms with respect to strangers.

88. The serjeant-at-arms attending this house shall, from time to time, take into his custody any stranger whom he may see, or who may be reported to him to be, in any part of the house or gallery appropriated to the members of this house, and also any stranger who, having been admitted into any other part of the house or gallery, shall misconduct himself, or shall not withdraw when strangers are directed to withdraw, while the house, or any committee of the whole house, is sitting; and no person so taken into custody shall be discharged out of custody without the special order of this house.

Places to which strangers are not admitted.

89. No member of this house shall presume to bring any stranger into any part of the house or gallery appropriated to the members of this house while the house or a committee of the whole house, is sitting.

Withdrawal of strangers from house.

90. If at any sitting of the house, or in committee, any member shall take notice that strangers are present, Mr. Speaker, or the chairman (as the case may be), shall forthwith put the question, "That strangers be ordered to withdraw," without permitting any debate or amend-

ment: provided that the speaker, or the chairman, may, whenever he thinks fit, order the withdrawal of strangers from any part of the house. Provided that any order made under this Standing Order shall not apply to members of the House of Lords.

LETTERS.

Custody of letters addressed to members.

91. To prevent the intercepting or losing of letters directed to members of this house, the person appointed to bring letters from the General Post Office to this house, or some other person to be appointed by the postmaster general, shall for the future, every day during the session of parliament, Sundays excepted, constantly attend, from ten of the clock in the morning till seven in the afternoon, at the place appointed for the delivery of the said letters, and take care, during his stay there, to deliver the same to the several members to whom they shall be directed, or to their known servant or servants, or other persons bringing notes under the hands of the members sending for the same.

Directions to officer in charge of letters.

92. The said officer shall, upon his going away, lock up such letters as shall remain undelivered; and no letter shall be delivered but within the hours aforesaid.

Orders to be sent to postmaster general.

93. The said orders shall be sent to the postmaster general at the commencement of each session.

Mode of dealing with letters directed to house.

94. When any letter or packet directed to this house shall come to Mr. Speaker, he shall open the same; and acquaint the house, at their next sitting, with the contents thereof, if proper to be communicated to this house.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Presentation of Command Papers.

95. If, during the existence of a parliament, papers are commanded to be presented to this house by His Majesty at any time, the delivery of such papers to the librarian of the House of Commons shall be deemed to be for all purposes the presentation of them to this house.

SESSIONAL ORDERS.

Elections.

Ordered, That all members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their election for which of the places they will serve, within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the return for that place; and if anything shall come in question touching the return or election of any member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate; and that all members returned upon double returns do withdraw till their returns are determined.

Resolved, That no peer of the realm, except such peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the election of any member to serve in Parliament.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a member of this house, or endeavoured so to be, by bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this house will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such bribery or other corrupt practices.

Witnesses.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this house, or any committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime and misdemeanour; and this house will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this house, or any committee thereof, this house will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

Metropolitan Police.

Ordered, That the commissioners of the police of the metropolis do take care that, during the session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this house be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of members to and from this house, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this house, during the sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Serjeant-at-arms attending this house do communicate this order to the commissioners aforesaid.

CHAPTER NINETEEN.

ORGANISING THE CONSTITUENCY.

WHEN a general election is expected to take place in a short time there is a great commotion among the leaders of all parties in the constituencies as to the organisation, and steps are at once taken to bring it up to date. This is a fatal mistake. An association should not wait till an election is imminent before commencing to organise; in fact the time to get your machinery in order is long before an election is expected.

Since the passing of the The Representation of the People Act, 1918, there is not the disparity in the size of the different constituencies from the point of view of the number of electors, consequently the same rules apply as to organisation in a certain degree to all county divisions, which we will deal with first.

In nearly all county divisions there are at least two or three urban areas, and the remainder is made up of a number of villages and hamlets.

Now that considerably more than a third of the electorate in every constituency consists of women, provision will have to be made for them as well as the men, and if anything a more intensive system of propaganda adopted in their case, as a large number of women are practically new to politics, and consequently more likely to be influenced by personal or local questions which they understand, or are more brought to their notice than are the great national questions of the day.

County Divisions.

The organisation for a county division should be built up in the case of urban areas from ward branches, and in rural areas from the polling districts. It may be necessary in some cases to group two or more villages or polling districts together to form the branch associations. Wherever possible I am in favour of separate men's and women's branches, but in some cases it may be impossible to get them, and in that event one must naturally do the next best thing and have a joint association composed of men and women, in which case the *officials* of the branch should include women as well as men.

These ward or polling districts branches should have a chairman, vice-chairman, hon. secretary and local committee who should make arrangements for meetings of a social and educational character during the months from October to March indoors. With the entry of women into politics, the days are gone when smoking concerts and meetings could be held in the village inn, and now advantage must be taken of the village hall or schoolroom. Great care should be taken in the selection of chairman and hon. secretaries of these branches. The days when the squire and the parson ruled the village are gone, and although they are often excellent in their spheres they are seldom the right men to become chairman of a political body. Get the most popular man (or woman in the case of a woman's branch) possible, and one who can not only conduct the business of the branch, but also deliver a speech which will appeal to the members, and above all one who will set his or her committee an example in getting into personal touch with the electors in the district, and induce them to become members of the branch association.

Local Branch Committees.

In appointing the committee of these local branches, volunteers should be asked for who will be willing to undertake some definite work for the cause. Each member of the committee should be responsible for the oversight of a street or part of a street, and keep the secretary informed as to removals in or out of their districts and as far as possible ascertain the politics of the electors in their areas.

The subscriptions to these local branches should be fixed as low as possible, say a minimum of 6d. or 1s. per annum, as it is not so much the money one wants as their active co-operation and support. Local committees should have no limit to their numbers, as such a committee is not dealing with finance, but is the working part of the organisation.

Work of Branches.

Each branch should carefully scrutinise the additions and deletions in the current register as soon as published and immediately communicate removals and deaths, etc., to the agent for the division as to any alterations necessary. The agent should be advised of all branch meetings held in the area.

The principal qualifications for all political workers is keenness and a knowledge of their subject, and a great amount of tact in dealing with people of different temperaments. The mistake that is often made in appointing officials of branch associations is that of electing some one because he is the principal man in the district. This is a mistake. The man or woman appointed should be one who will be hail-fellow-well-met with all, and at the same time maintain his or her position.

So much for the ward or polling district branches in county divisions.

Boroughs.

The same system would obtain in boroughs only that a borough constituency would be much more compact and consequently it could be divided into wards only and the same system carried on.

Each ward or polling district branch should elect representatives to the general council and the executive committee of the association.

The General Council.

This should consist of representatives elected by the branch associations in the following proportions, viz., one male representative for every 200 male electors in the polling district, and one female representative for every 200 female electors in the polling district, and in the case of a joint association the same number of men and women as if there had been separate men and women's associations. In addition to the elected representatives, the general council should also include all subscribers to the funds of the central association. Vice-presidents of the central association should consist of ladies and gentlemen subscribing not less than £5 5s. 0d. per annum to the funds of the central association.

In the event of a general election or a vacancy occurring in the representation of the division, the general council should be immediately called together to select a candidate to contest the constituency.

Executive Committee.

There should also be a smaller body to manage the affairs of the association, styled the executive committee ; this should consist of a president, chairman, two or more vice-chairmen, honorary treasurer, and two male representatives and one female representative from each branch association in the division. This committee should have power to co-opt say four or five additional members, but this power should be used very carefully, and should not be used to fill vacancies of elected members.

This committee should manage the affairs of the association, have power to engage and discharge the agent, and engage offices. It should also if thought necessary appoint sub-committees, such as finance, organisation, literature or emergency sub-committees.

The honorary treasurer should be a well-known and popular gentleman, and he should apply for all subscriptions. It is best in dealing with new arrivals in the district for the honorary treasurer either to call or write a personal letter pointing out the need of financial support for the association.

The Agent.

Each constituency should have a full time registration agent, who should be a man not afraid of work and fully qualified. When I say fully qualified, perhaps that is rather a wide term to use as the qualifications for a successful agent are multitudinous. He should know what he may do, must do, must not do, and must avoid doing, or he may land his candidate in gaol instead of parliament. He must be a man of endless tact and good temper, and take a real personal interest in his work. There has been a tendency since the war to appoint ex-officers simply because they have influence on the executive committee, and a handle in the shape of a rank before their name. These men, though excellent in their way and deserving of every consideration, are often devoid of the qualities necessary to make a good agent. It is absolutely necessary that before a man is appointed agent in charge of a constituency he should have had training under an experienced man, and be a man of resource so that he will make use of that training and use it as local circumstances require. The agent to the association is invariably appointed the election agent, as he will naturally know the workers and the district better than anyone else.

Election Approaching.

Immediately an election is imminent he should summon the general council together to adopt a candidate, and although a prospective candidate may have been nursing the constituency or the sitting member is again going to stand, this should be done, and at that meeting a formal resolution should be adopted dissolving the association and all its branches until after the poll is taken. The committees of the local branches can then form themselves into local election committees and assist in the election, the agent for the time being becoming the election agent and not the servant of the association. If the association or any other outside body or person provides funds for the purpose of the election, these should be paid over to the candidate or his election agent, and included in the return of expenses of the election under the head of "Receipts." The agent should appoint all sub-agents and engage all committee rooms, and he alone should give orders for all goods, printing, etc., and not leave anything to sub-agents to be printed as he is responsible for anything in that way issued. It is always best to engage a central committee room away from the usual offices of the association, although there is nothing to prevent them being used, but in that case a fair and reasonable amount should be charged for their use. There is nothing to prevent club premises being used as a committee room during an election, but there is always a danger of laying one's self open to the charge of treating if this is done. In the event of using part of a political club's premises as a committee room I should advise having all means of communication between the part used as a committee room and where drink is sold securely fastened up during the election.

Unauthorised Propaganda.

A club or association may not hold meetings or issue literature such as posters, bills, etc., during the course of an election in support of any particular candidate, unless they are authorised in writing by the election agent to do so, and then this must be paid for by him and included in the election expenses. In the same way, a trade union must not issue literature in support of a particular candidate unless the cost of the same is authorised and included in the election expenses. Such payments, as must all others, be made through the election agent. This brings me to the question of what are and what are not election expenses.

Subscriptions.

A prospective candidate or Member of Parliament may consider himself fortunate if he is not being continually pressed to subscribe to charities and institutions in the constituency, and although there is nothing to prevent his doing so, yet it must be done in such a manner that it cannot be construed into bribery or for the purpose of influencing votes. During an election it would be advisable to refuse all applications for subscriptions unless a candidate has been in the habit of subscribing to the particular object. An association or club may, when an election is not pending, use its funds for the purpose of propaganda, issuing literature, etc., for the furtherance of its own objects as distinct from promoting the election of any particular candidate. An association may also incur expenses in connection with registration, and such expenditure is not an election expense.

Election Expenses.

As to when election expenses begin each item must be judged on its own merits. The question of the "Adoption" of a candidate is an all important point, and it is always advisable to refer to a candidate as the "Prospective Candidate" until he is formally adopted at a meeting specially called for that purpose. A prospective candidate who resides in a constituency he intends to contest starts with something in his favour, as naturally he is known to a certain extent, and is also probably identified with the public and social life in the district. There should be perfect confidence between him and the agent of the particular party to which he belongs, as the agent, being in close touch with the active workers, and through them with a large number of the electorate, can keep the candidate informed as to the attitude the electors take on the questions of the day.

Registers and Registrations.

One great asset at the time of an election is a correct register, and this is only to be obtained by a close attention to "Registration" months before. Although the work of preparing and revising the register is enormously simplified under the Representation of the People Act, 1918, and the registration officers as a rule prepare an excellent register, yet the agent should make a careful note of all deaths so as to get them struck off at the next registration court, and also all removals in and out of the division, as it will save an immense amount of trouble and expense when an election takes place. In urban areas the register is usually prepared in street order, that is the houses are taken in order down one side of the street and then the other side as they stand, the occupier's name appearing first, followed by the name of the wife (if qualified), and then any lodgers or other persons qualified. This is a great advantage at the time of an election as I consider one copy of the candidate's election address sent to husband and wife jointly is sufficient, and if the names appear on the register as before mentioned this is quite simple. In rural parishes, where the register is prepared in alphabetical order in many cases, this cannot be done as one cannot tell always who are husband and wife. For instance when there are several persons of one surname, and we find the name of "Alice Brown" appearing first in a whole column of "Browns," and possibly her husband "William Brown" at the bottom, there being no indication in the list as to which are husband and wife, it is best to send an address to each elector.

Election Stores.

With two registers a year and consequently many alterations every six months, it would mean considerable expense to keep two sets of envelopes fully addressed. The system I adopt is to have a complete set of envelopes ready for the address and poll cards, with a part of the address only; this I stamp in with a set of rubber type. I know by my register how many envelopes I require say for Queen Street, Stowmarket, consequently I stamp the required number "Queen Street, Stowmarket" only, and when I require to use them, all I have to do is to write in the names of the electors and the number of the street or road as the case may be. When completing the address, care should be taken to keep them in their proper order, and if your poll cards are also kept in order it will be no trouble to insert the poll cards in the proper envelopes with the address, which I send out by the

" Free Postage." Some agents are in favour of getting the candidate's address in the hands of the electors at the earliest possible moment and sending the poll cards out by another post which they have to pay for, but with the present high price of printing and postage it is as well to save this extra cost wherever possible, although a second or final appeal is usually very necessary. On my canvass cards which I keep prepared (with the exception of the register number), I put husband and wife on one card, as it is not only a saving of expense, but is also a convenience to a canvasser to have the two names on one card.

A box should be prepared for each polling district containing stores, such as marked register, canvass cards, envelopes, blotting paper, pens, pencils, paper fasteners, drawing pins, paste, and the various forms necessary. A complete list of stores is given on page 159.

List of Workers.

The agent should also as far as possible be prepared with the names of persons suitable and willing to act as sub-agents or clerks in charge of committee rooms. He should also keep a map of the district, and in urban areas a street map if possible, together with railway and omnibus time tables.

Getting in Touch.

Having dealt with the organising of a constituency, I will now deal with the various ways in which an agent should be able to act as deputy to a certain extent for the prospective candidate or sitting member as the case may be, and in many other ways make himself indispensable to the life of the constituency. The agent should keep closely in touch with local politics as they concern his own party, such as county council elections, municipal elections, board of guardians, etc., and if they are fought politically he should take a practical part in them, and by that means be able to feel the pulse of the different parts of the division. This should also be the means of getting recruits for his corps of workers for his own cause. He should identify himself with any public charitable work such as hospital collections, etc., which may bring him into contact with people who may be of use to him in his organisation. He should also keep in close touch with all the social and sporting organisations in the constituency. He should also visit periodically the different parts of the constituency and discuss with the local supporters any means by which the interests of the party could be promoted in that particular area. For instance, one part may be interested in agriculture, another part where a particular branch of industry is extensively carried on may be interested in industrial questions. It should be his special object to find out the opinions of different people as they affect these particular industries, and if there is any legislation pending regarding them report to the prospective candidate or member the result of his enquiries. He should also carefully read the reports of the meetings of his opponents, and should preserve press cuttings of anything likely to be of use on future occasions. He should let the local press have notices of all meetings of his party which he would like published.

Educational Propaganda.

He should also see that a supply of literature is always available, and should periodically arrange for distributing it, being careful to see that it is done with discrimination, as it is no use issuing literature in an industrial area which is applicable only to an agricultural one and vice versa. When an election is on it is always found that there are a number of people whose names are not on the register, and who never trouble about it at other times. Careful note of these should be made, and claims made on their behalf when the next register is being compiled.

He should always be prepared to give advice and assistance as to pension cases, unemployment grants, rent restriction acts, and in fact should lay himself out to be a bureau of information to all enquirers.

Any speeches of the sitting member or prospective candidate, the agent should see are published in the local papers even if it means supplying the " copy."

Work of the Candidate or Member.

As with an agent, so also to a certain extent with a candidate or sitting member, he should always be prepared to meet and discuss with representatives or deputations from trade unions, friendly societies, trade federations, and local governing bodies, any matters concerning their welfare, especially when any legislation affecting them is on foot. He should be prepared to attend dinners and entertainments or public functions promoted by local institutions in the division. He should periodically address meetings in different polling districts of his constituency on the questions of the day, giving an account of his stewardship and his reasons for voting on or supporting the various bills which are brought before Parliament, also inviting and answering any questions of public interest which may be put to him. Letters to the local press on matters of public interest should be written as occasions arise.

Constituents at the House.

In the case of a sitting member he may be asked to conduct a party of his supporters over the House of Commons. He will also have tickets for admission to the House to hear debates to dispose of. The agent can assist him in distributing these to the greatest advantage.

Women's Meetings.

With the advent of women in politics it is of the greatest importance that a member or candidate should make a point of addressing meetings specially called for that part of the electorate so as to find out from personal experience what their attitude is towards particular subjects. It is evident that women, once they take an interest in politics, are very keen, and will often do more work than the men. Women are especially good in running the social part of an organisation, and every encouragement should be given to them.

A great deal depends on the *attitude* of both the agent and candidate towards the different people in the constituency, as there are so many temperaments to consider and, therefore, I say that one of the greatest assets for a successful agent or candidate is " tact."

CHAPTER TWENTY.

ELECTIONS IN SCOTLAND, IRELAND, AND AT THE UNIVERSITIES, ETC.

(1) SCOTLAND. (3) SCILLY ISLES.
(2) IRELAND. (4) UNIVERSITY ELECTIONS.
(5) PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

THE Representation of the People Act, 1918, applies to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and to the Isles of Scilly. It is applied to Scotland by section 43, 6th Schedule, Paragraph 8, whilst there are also special adaptations of certain Acts for Scotland. It is applied to Ireland by section 44, 1st Schedule, Rule 44 and the 6th Schedule, Paragraph 9. There are also special adaptations of Acts for Ireland. It is applied to the Isles of Scilly by section 45.

Modification in the case of Scotland.

The Act applies to Scotland, subject to the following modifications of Section 43 :—

(1) Unless the context otherwise requires—

(*a*) The word " borough " except as used in the expression " parliamentary borough " means " burgh " ;

Note also the meaning of " burgh " for the purposes of the Ninth Schedule, par. 4, *and see note to First Schedule, rule* 1.

(*b*) The expression " local government electoral area " means the area for which any county council, town council, parish council, or school board, is elected, and " local government election " means an election for any such council or board ;

Refers to sec. 41 (2).

(*c*) The expression " the Local Government Board " (except where otherwise expressly provided) means the Secretary for Scotland ;

See First Schedule, rule 43 ; *Ninth Schedule, par.* 5.

(*d*) The expression "Valuation Acts" means the Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854. (17 & 18 Vict. c. 91), and any Acts amending the same. *See Sec.* 43 (6) (8).

(*e*) The expression "governing body" used in relation to a University means the university court;
See sec. 19 and *Fifth Schedule,*

(*f*) A reference to the Supreme Court shall be construed as a reference to the Court of Session;
Refers to sec. 14 (2).

(*g*) A reference to the Court of Appeal shall be construed as a reference to the Court of three judges of the Court of Session constituted by the twenty-third section of the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868.

(*h*) A reference to the County Court shall be construed as a reference to the Sheriff Court:
Refers to sec. 14 (1).

(2) The yearly value of any subjects shall be taken to be the value appearing in the valuation roll where those subjects are separately valued in that roll, and in any other case shall be deemed to be the value which would in the opinion of the registration officer be entered therein if they were so valued.

"Subjects" cover "land or premises" in sec. 3 (*a*) and sec. 7 (1) (4).
See definition in sec. 41. (9) *and notes.*

(3) The section of this Act relating to local government franchise (men) shall not apply, and in lieu thereof—

(*a*) A man who is of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity shall be entitled to be registered as a local government elector for a local government electoral area if he is on the last day of the qualifying period, and has been during the whole of that period,—

(i) the owner of lands and heritages within the area of the yearly value of not less than ten pounds: Where such lands and heritages are in the joint ownership of two or more persons and the aggregate yearly value of the lands and heritages is not less than the amount produced by multiplying ten pounds by the number of the joint owners, each of the joint owners shall be treated as owning lands and heritages of the yearly value of not less than ten pounds; or

(ii) the occupier as tenant of lands and heritages within the area of the yearly value of not less than ten pounds: Where such lands and heritages are in the joint occupation as tenants of two or more persons, and the aggregate yearly value of the lands and heritages is not less than the amount produced by multiplying ten pounds by the number of the joint occupiers, each of the joint occupiers shall be treated as occupying lands and heritages of the yearly value of not less than ten pounds; or

(iii) the inhabitant occupier as owner or tenant of a dwelling-house within the area; or

(iv) the occupier of lodgings within the area of the yearly value, if let unfurnished, of not less than ten pounds; Where such lodgings are in the joint-occupation of not more than two persons, and the aggregate yearly value as aforesaid of the lodgings is not less than twenty pounds, each of the joint lodgers shall be treated as occupying lodgings of the yearly value of not less than ten pounds; or

(v) the inhabitant occupier by virtue of any office, service, or employment of a dwelling-house within the area which is not inhabited by the person in whose service he is in such office, service, or employment;

(*b*) The ownership or occupation in immediate succession of different lands and heritages, dwelling-houses, or lodgings, as the case may be, in the same parliamentary county or in the same parliamentary borough shall have the like effect in qualifying a man to be registered as a local government elector for a local government electoral area therein respectively, as the continued ownership or occupation of the same lands and heritages, dwelling-houses, or lodgings within that area;

(*c*) In this section " owner " shall include heir of entail in possession, life-renter, and beneficiary entitled under any trust to the rents and profits of lands and heritages and shall not include the fiar of lands and heritages subject to a life-rent, nor tutor, curator, judicial factor, nor commissioner; " lands and heritages " has the same meaning as in the Valuation Acts, and " dwelling-house " means any house or part of a house occupied as a separate dwelling.

Refers to sec. 3. *See also* 6*th Sch.* (8).

(4) Subsec. (1) of the section of this Act relating to franchise (women) shall not apply, and in lieu thereof—

(*a*) A woman who is not subject to any legal incapacity shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a constituency (other than a university constituency) if she has attained the age of thirty years, and if either she or her husband is on the last day of the qualifying period occupying as owner or tenant any land or premises in the constituency (hereinafter in this subsection called " the qualifying premises "), and has during the whole of the qualifying period so occupied any land or premises in the county or county of a city in which the qualifying premises are situated:

(*b*) For the purposes of this subsection :—

(i) the word " tenant " shall include a person who inhabits by virtue of any office, service, or employment any dwelling-house which is not inhabited by the person in whose service he or she is in such office, service, or employment;

(ii) the word "tenant" shall include a person who occupies a room or rooms as a lodger only where such room or rooms are let to him or her in an unfurnished state;

(iii) the expression "land or premises" means any land or premises (other than a dwelling-house) of the yearly value of not less than five pounds or any dwelling-house;

(iv) a woman, though she or her husband may have been occupying land or premises in the constituency on the last day of the qualifying period, shall not be entitled to be so registered, if she or her husband, as the case may be, commenced to occupy the land or premises within thirty days before the end of the qualifying period and ceased to occupy them within thirty days after the commencement of such occupation;

(v) the word "county" means a county inclusive of all burghs therein except a county of a city, and the word "dwelling-house" means any house or part of a house occupied as a separate dwelling;

(vi) where land or premises are in the joint occupation of two or more persons, each of the joint occupiers shall be treated as occupying the same, provided that not more than two joint occupiers shall be so treated in respect of the same land or premises, unless they are *bona-fide* engaged as partners, carrying on their profession, trade, or business on the land or premises, and provided further that in the case of land or premises (other than a dwelling-house) the aggregate yearly value thereof must be not less than the amount produced by multiplying five pounds by the number of joint occupiers;

(*c*) A woman registered by virtue of this section shall be deemed to be registered by virtue of her own or her husband's local government qualification:
Refers to sec. 4 (1).

(5) Subsec. (1) of the section of this Act relating to supplemental provisions as to residence and occupation shall not apply except in so far as that subsection relates to the parliamentary franchise for men, and subsec. (4) of the said section shall not apply.

Refers to sec. 7

(6) The section of this Act relating to provisions as to disqualifications shall have effect as if the following provision were enacted therein :

> A person shall not be disqualified from being registered or from voting as a parliamentary or local government elector by reason that he is the town clerk or deputy town clerk of any burgh or the assessor under the Valuation Acts in any burgh or county ;
> *Refers to sec.* 9

(7) The section of this Act relating to provisions as to qualifications of councillor shall not apply.

Refers to sec. 10

(8) The section of this Act relating to registration officer and areas shall not apply, and in lieu thereof—

> Each burgh the town council whereof was entitled under the law in force at the passing of this Act to appoint an assessor for the purpose of parliamentary registration, and each county (exclusive of every such burgh) or where any county is divided for the purpose of parliamentary elections, each part of the county (with the like exclusion) which lies within a separate parliamentary division shall be a registration area ; and the assessor of the burgh or county under the Valuation Acts, or where there are two or more such assessors, one of them, appointed for the purpose of parliamentary registration by the town or county council as the case may be, shall be the registration officer of that area, and all other assessors (if any) in that area shall for the purpose of the registration of parliamentary and local government electors, be subject to the instructions of the registration officer and shall be bound to act upon such instructions :
>
> Provided that from and after the date when the first register under this Act shall have been completed, an officer of Inland Revenue shall not be appointed or continue to act as assessor for any burgh or county under the Valuation Acts without the consent of the Treasury.
> *Refers to secs.* 12, 43, (1) (*d*).

(9) The provisions regarding the appointment of an assistant judge in the section of this Act relating to appeals shall not apply.

Refers to sec. 14. (6).

(10) In the application of the section of this Act relating to right to the use of elementary schools the expression "any public elementary school" means "any school in receipt of a parliamentary grant."

Refers to sec. 25.

(11) The first subsection of the section of this Act relating to expenses of registration shall not apply, and in lieu thereof—

> Any expenses properly incurred by any registration officer in the performance of his duties in relation to registration, including all proper and reasonable charges for trouble, care, and attention in the performance of those duties, and any cost incurred by him as party to any appeal (in this Act referred to as "registration expenses"), shall be paid by the council appointing the registration officer: Provided that where a burgh within the meaning of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889 (52 & 53 *Vict. c.* 50), is not a separate registration area, the council thereof shall pay to the council appointing the registration officer a contribution towards the registration expenses, and subsec. (4) of sec. 60 and sec. 66 of that Act shall apply, with the necessary modifications, to such contribution. The amount necessary to defray any registration expenses and any contribution thereto, as the case may be, shall be assessed and levied in any one of the modes allowed by the Valuation Acts with respect to the costs and expenses of making up the valuation roll:

Refers to sec. 15 (1).

(12) In subsec. (5) of the section of this Act relating to expenses of registration the expression "the council whose clerk the registration officer is" means "the council appointing the registration officer."

Refers to sec. 15 (5).

(13) The sections of this Act relating to returning officers and to discharge of returning officers' duties by an acting returning officer shall not apply, and in lieu thereof—

> The returning officer at parliamentary elections (other than a university election) shall as heretofore be the sheriff of the sheriff-don within which the constituency is wholly situated or, where the constituency is situated in more than one sheriff-don, the sheriff specified in the Seventh Schedule

to this Act, and the power of appointing deputies conferred by sec. 8 of the Ballot Act, 1872, on certain sheriffs shall be exercisable by any sheriff who is returning officer for more than one constituency or who, by reason of sickness or unavoidable absence, is incapacitated from performing any of the duties devolving upon him as returning officer, and in the event of no such appointment being made by a sheriff so incapacitated, or in the event of any vacancy in the office of sheriff at the time when any of such duties require to be performed, the sheriff substitute at the place at which the writ for the election is appointed to be received shall act as returning officer, and shall perform all the duties and have all the powers (including the power of appointing deputies) of such returning officer:

Refers to secs. 28 and 30.

(14) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsec. (1) of the section of this Act relating to polls to be held on one day at a general election, etc., the poll at any general or by-election for the constituency of Orkney and Shetland shall remain open for two consecutive days as heretofore.

Refers to sec. 21 (1).

(15) The provisions of the last paragraph of the section of this Act relating to registers for university constituencies shall not apply, and the said section shall have effect as if regulation 16 of sec. 2 of the Universities Elections' Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1881 (44 and 45 Vict. c. 40), were enacted therein in lieu of the said paragraph.

Refers to sec. 19.

(16) The section of this Act relating to place of election shall not apply, and in lieu thereof—

In the case of parliamentary elections (other than an election for a university constituency), the place of election shall be a convenient room situated in such place as the Secretary for Scotland may by order from time to time determine.

Refers to sec. 32.

(17) In the application of the section of this Act relating to division of constituency into polling districts and

appointment of polling places, and of the section of this Act relating to re-arrangement of polling districts to suit new constituencies, the returning officer shall be substituted for the council having a power or duty under those sections to divide a constituency into polling districts, and the Lord Advocate shall be substituted for the Local Government Board.

Refers to secs. 31 *and* 39.

(18) Notwithstanding anything in this Act it shall not in the year nineteen hundred and nineteen and subsequent years be necessary—

(*a*) As regards any burgh or any registration unit therein, if the town council of the burgh so resolve, to show or distinguish in any spring register the names of persons entitled to vote as local government electors; or

(*b*) As regards any county or any registration unit therein, if the county council of the county so resolve, to show or distinguish in any register, other than the autumn register in those years in which county council elections fall to be held, the names of persons entitled to vote as local government electors:

Provided that—

(i) a resolution under this section shall not have effect unless it is passed as respects the spring register in any year before the first day of January in that year, and as respects the autumn register in any year before the first day of July in that year:

(ii) for all the purposes of the registration of local government electors in any burgh or county or registration unit therein to which any such resolution applies, the last preceding local government register shall remain in force until a new local government register comes into force:

In this subsection "*burgh*" *has the same meaning as in the Town Councils* (*Scotland*) *Act* 1900 (63 & 64 *Vict. c.* 49), and "county" means a county exclusive of any such burgh: *See also* 6*th Sch.* (8).

(19) Except as expressly provided in this Act—

(*a*) Nothing in this Act shall take effect so as to deprive any royal or parliamentary burgh losing separate representation under this Act of any right, privilege, or status, whether for purposes of local government, or otherwise, hitherto enjoyed by such burgh as a royal or parliamentary burgh; and (*b*) Nothing in this Act or in any Act in force at the passing of this Act, as read with this Act, shall take effect so as to confer upon any police burgh acquiring separate representation under this Act any rights, privileges, or status, whether for the purposes of local government, or otherwise, not enjoyed by other police burghs.

In this subsection the references to royal, parliamentary, or police burghs shall be deemed to include reference to the magistrates, town councils, and officers thereof respectively, and the expression "separate representation" shall be construed as meaning the right to return, or to contribute as a burgh to return, a member, or members to Parliament.

Refers to sec. 37 *and Ninth Schedule, caption, par.* 4., *and Part* 1. (4). *See also sec.* 43 (1) (*a*).

The 1st Schedule, Rule 43, gives the application of the Rules to Scotland.

Application of Rules to Scotland.

The rules apply to Scotland subject to the following modifications, namely :—

The Secretary for Scotland shall be substituted for the Local Government Board :

The provision for transmission of a copy of the register to the Local Government Board shall not apply :

Rule 2 shall apply as if after the words "in separate divisions" there were inserted the words "or otherwise to distinguish" :

For the reference to sec. 24 of the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1884, there shall be substituted a reference to sec. 29 of the Elections (Scotland) (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1890.

Adaptation of Acts for Scotland.

The 6th Schedule Paragraph 8, gives the special adaptation of Acts for Scotland.

The Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1832 (2 and 3 Will. 4, c. 65) :—

Section 23 shall apply as if appeals from the Sheriff's Court under this Act were mentioned therein instead of the appeals therein mentioned.

The Ballot Act, 1872 (35 and 36 Vict., c. 33) :—

In rule 60 of Part 1 of the First Schedule, a reference to Division (4) of Part 1 of the Ninth Schedule of this Act shall be substituted for the reference to the Schedules in that rule mentioned.

The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883 (46 and 47 Vict., c. 51) :—

> In sec. 68 in the definition of "revising barrister," for the word "sheriff" shall be substituted the words "registration officer."

The Registration Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1885 (48 and 49 Vict., c. 16) :—

> In sec. 6, for the words "dwelling-house within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act, 1884," there shall be substituted the words "house or part of a house occupied as a separate dwelling: Provided that no such entry shall render liable to be rated in respect of any such house or part of a house any person who occupies the same by virtue of any office, service, or employment."

The Local Government (Scotland Act, 1989 (53 and 53 Vict. c. 50.) :—

> In sec. 6, the words "in the Representation of the People Act, 1918," shall be substituted for the word "hereinafter."

The Elections (Scotland) (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act. 1890 (35 and 54 Vict., c. 55) :—

> In sec. 29, the words "registration officer" shall be substituted for "revising authority," and at the end of subsection (1) of the said section the following words shall be added, "and shall make out a list (which may be referred to as the corrupt and illegal practices' list), containing the name and description of every person whose name has been so omitted, and shall state in that list the offence of which each such person has been convicted or found guilty."

The Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900 (63 and 64 Vict., c. 49) :—

> In subsection (1) of sec. 23 the words "registered as local government electors for the burgh in accordance with the provisions of the Representation of the People Act, 1918," shall be substituted for the words "entitled in respect of premises within the municipal boundary to vote in the election of a member of Parliament."

Franchise Qualification for Scottish University.

Section 27 of the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868, provides the franchise qualification as follows :—

> The Chancellor, the members of the University Court, and the professors for the time being of each of the Universities of Scotland, and also every person whose name is for the

> time being on the register, made up in terms of the provisions hereinafter set forth, of the General Council of such university, shall, if of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, be entitled to vote in the election of a member to serve in any future Parliament for such university in terms of this Act.

The last paragraph of section 19 of the Representation of the People Act, 1918, is not applicable to Scottish Universities. (See Section 43) (15). The elections for Scottish Universities are provided for under Part 2 of the 5th Schedule of the Representation of the People Act, 1918.

Modifications in the Case of Ireland.

Section 44 of the Act applies to Ireland as follows :—

This Act shall apply to Ireland subject to the following modifications :—

(1) References to the Lord Chancellor shall be construed as references to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Refers to sec. 14 (2).

The Lord Chancellor shall not sit as a member of the Court of Appeal on the hearing of appeals from the county court under this Act.

Refers to sec. 14 (6).

In any county in which the jurisdiction of the county court is exercised for the time being by two or more county court judges, the appeals from the registration officer shall be dealt with by such one of those judges, or his assistant judge, as may be directed by the Lord Chancellor, or shall be distributed amongst those judges and their assistants judges according as may be so directed.

Refers to sec. 14 (1).

For the purposes of this Act, county court rules, orders, and scales of fees, costs, and charges may be made under secs. 70, 83 and 84 of the County Officers and Courts (Ireland) Act, 1877 (40 and 41 Vict., c. 56); but the provisions of those sections as to the concurrence of, or certification by, county court judges or the recorder shall not apply:

Refers to sec. 14 (1). *See also* 6*th Schedule, par.* 9, *as to secs.* 12 *and* 14 *of Juries Act* (*Ireland*), 1871.

(2) The reference to the Local Government Board in relation to the approval of a deputy for the execution of any of the powers and duties of a registration officer shall be construed as a reference to the Lord Lieutenant, and other references to that Board shall be construed as references to the Local Government Board for Ireland:

Refers to sec. 12 (3), *and sec.* 12 (2) *respectively. See also* 1*st Sch., rule* 44 (1).

(3) (*a*) The clerk of the Crown and peace for an administrative county, not being a county borough, shall be the registration officer for any parliamentary county which is coterminous with, or the whole or greater part of which is contained in, the administrative county, and for any parliamentary borough of which the whole or greater part is contained in the administrative county and no part is contained in a county borough, and the clerk of the Crown and peace for a county borough shall be the registration officer for any parliamentary borough which is coterminous with, or the whole or any part of which is contained in, the county borough, and the council of that administrative county or county borough, as the case may be, shall be the council by which the registration expenses of that registration officer are to be paid, subject in cases where the parliamentary county or parliamentary borough is not coterminous with, or wholly contained in, the administrative county or county

borough, as the case may be, to such contribution by the council of any other administrative county or county borough as the Local Government Board may direct.

Provided that the registration expenses to be paid by a council shall not include any charges for trouble, care, and attention, in the performance of duties which are performed by the registration officer in person; provided also that the persons who, at the passing of this Act, are town clerks for the county borough of Dublin and the county borough of Belfast, respectively, shall, so long as they hold their respective offices, be the registration officers for the parliamentary borough of Dublin and the parliamentary borough of Belfast, respectively, and that the last preceding proviso shall not apply in their case.

Refers to sec. 12 (1). *See also* 1*st Sch., rule* 44 (5).

(*b*) The registration expenses shall be paid in the case of the council of a county borough, out of the rate or fund out of which the general expenses of the council are paid, or out of any other rate or fund which the Local Government Board may on the application of the council approve, and, in the case of a council of any other administrative county, out of the poor rate as a county at large charge, except in cases to which sec. 12 of the Parliamentary Registration (Ireland) Act, 1885 (48 and 49 Vict., c. 17), applies:

See also sec. 44 (6).

(*c*) In the event of any vacancy in the office of registration officer or in the event of the registration officer's incapacity to act, the powers and duties of the registration officer may be exercised and performed by any person temporarily appointed in that behalf by the Lord Chancellor.

Cf. Sec. 12 (4).

(*d*) The power of advancing sums to a registration officer on account of registration expenses shall be exercisable by the council by which those expenses are to be paid :

Refers to sec. 15 (5).

(*e*) This section, in its application to the county of Tipperary, shall have effect as if each parliamentary division of the county were a separate parliamentary county, and as if the clerk of the Crown and peace for the entire county were clerk of the Crown and peace for the administrative counties of the North Riding and the South Riding respectively :

(4) Where an administrative county is divided into ridings the Lord Lieutenant may, by order, divide the parliamentary county into a corresponding number of registration areas, and make any adaptations of this Act which may be necessary in consequence of the division, and the clerk of the Crown and peace for any riding shall be registration officer for such of those areas as may be directed by the Lord Lieutenant :

Cf. sec. 12 (2) *and* 1*st Sch., rule* 44 (2).

(5) For the purposes of appeals from the registration officer, and also for the purpose of the revision of jurors' lists, the powers and jurisdictions of the county court shall, unless and until the Lord Lieutenant otherwise direct, be exercised, as respects the parliamentary borough of Dublin, by the persons who are at the time of the passing of this Act Dublin revising barristers, and, as respects the parliamentary county of Dublin, by the person who is at the time of the passing of this Act revising barrister for that county ; but while those powers are so exercised the provisions of this Act as to county courts shall apply to those persons as they apply to

county courts, with the necessary modifications, and in particular with the modification that assistant judges may be appointed to assist those persons if, in the opinion of the Lord Chancellor, such appointment is necessary in order to enable the appeals to be disposed of with proper dispatch :

Refers to sec. 14 (1). *See* 6*th Sch.* (9).

(6) The expenses of any printing required in connection with registration shall be treated as a part of the expenses of the registration officer under this Act, notwithstanding that the printing is arranged for by the county council under sec. 96 of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898 (61 and 62 Vict., c. 37) :

Sec. 44 (3) (*b*).

(7) The expression "assistant overseer" means a town clerk, secretary of a county council, clerk of an urban district council, an existing clerk of the union, within the meaning of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, and a collector of poor rate :

See also 1*st Sch., rule* 44 (4), (5), (6).

(8) Notwithstanding the limit imposed in subsec. (2) of sec. 27 of the County Officers and Courts (Ireland) Act, 1877, the salaries of clerks of the Crown and peace may be increased by orders made under that subsection to such extent as appears to the Lord Lieutenant and council, with the concurrence of the Treasury, to be proper, having regard to the additional duties imposed on those officers by this Act : Provided that the liability of a clerk of the Crown and peace to account for sums other than registration expenses received by him as registration officer shall not extend to any such increase of salary :

(9) The provisions with respect to the division of constituency into polling districts and appointment of

polling places shall have effect with the following modifications :

(*a*) A reference to the council by which the registration expenses of the registration officer for any constituency are to be paid shall be substituted for the reference to the council whose clerk the registration officer for any constituency is, or by whom the registration officer is appointed :

(*b*) The powers of a council under the said provisions shall be exercised in accordance with rules made by the local government board, and any exercise of the powers shall be subject to confirmation by that Board, who may confirm the proposed division, appointment, or alteration either with or without modifications, or may withhold confirmation :

(*c*) The Board may cause a local inquiry to be held as respects any questions arising in connexion with the said provisions, and article 32 of the schedule to the Local Government (Application of Enactments) Order, 1898, shall apply to any such inquiry :

(10) Part IV of this Act, and the provisions with respect to an urban district which is coterminous with, or wholly contained in, a registration area, or with respect to the persons who are to be returning officers, or with respect to the discharge of returning officers' duties by an acting returning officer, or with respect to place of election, or with respect to the right to the use of elementary schools, shall not apply :

Refers to sec. 37. 16 (1) *sec.* 28, *sec.* 30 *and sec.* 25, *respectively.*

(11) (*a*) The qualifying period shall be a period of six months ending on the fifteenth day of July and including that day :

Provided that one month shall be substituted for six months in the application of this provision to a person who is a naval or military voter, or who has been serving as a member of the naval military or air forces of the Crown at any time during the said six months, and has ceased so to serve.

Refers to sec. 6.

(*b*) One register of electors only shall be made in each year, and all provisions applicable to the autumn register shall apply as respects the yearly register (except that the yearly register shall remain in force until the fifteenth day of October in the next following year), and the provisions as to the preparation of two registers in each year and as to the spring registers shall not apply.

Refers to sec. 11.

(12) The yearly value of premises shall be taken to be the rateable value where those premises are separately valued, and in any other case shall be deemed to be the amount which would, in the opinion of the registration officer, be the rateable value if they were separately valued.

Refers to sec. 41 (9).

(13) A person shall not be entitled to be registered or vote for a parliamentary county constituency in respect of a qualification in a parliamentary borough constituency:

(14) The following proviso shall be substituted for the proviso at the end of subsec. (2) of sec. 8: "Nothing in this provision shall prevent a person voting at an election to fill a casual vacancy in a borough council in any ward for which he is registered."

Application of Rules to Ireland.

The First Schedule rule 44 of the Act is the application of the Rules to Ireland.

These rules shall apply to Ireland subject to the following modifications, namely:—

(1) References to the Local Government Board shall be construed as references to the Local Government Board for Ireland.

(2) The district electoral division as constituted under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, shall be the registration unit; but

(*a*) where a district electoral division is divided into wards, each such ward shall be treated as a separate registration unit; and

(*b*) where a district electoral division is situate partly in one parliamentary polling district, partly in another, or partly within or partly without any town (within the meaning of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898), or ward of a borough or town, each part shall be treated as a separate registration unit; and references to parishes or parts of parishes shall not apply.

(3) References to the autumn register shall be construed as references to the yearly register, and references to the spring register shall not apply.

Refers to rule 6. *See also secs.* 6, 11 *and* 44 (11) (*b*).

(4) The expression " overseers " includes town clerks, secretaries of county councils, clerks of urban district councils, existing clerks of the union within the meaning of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, and collectors of poor rate.

Refers to rule 7 *in cases where the registration officer " does not himself perform the duties of overseers."*

See sec. 44 (7).

Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898.

It is provided by Sec. 121 of the above Act that every existing clerk of a union shall, unless he otherwise agrees with the county council or urban district council, as the case may be, continue to perform the duties of the clerk of a union under the Registration Acts and the Juries (Ireland) Acts, 1871 to 1894, and every collector of poor rate shall continue to give the same information and assistance as heretofore to that clerk in relation to the said duties.

(5) The power of the registration officer in certain cases to require the overseers to perform duties in connection with registration under this Act shall be construed in all cases as an obligation upon him to require each person holding the office of overseer to perform duties analogous to the duties which, but for the passing of this Act, would have been performed by that person by virtue of his office under the enactments relative to registration in force at the commencement of this Act, and it shall be the duty of every such person to comply with those requirements.

In order to give full effect to the foregoing provision, the clerk of the Crown and peace for a county borough shall, as respects any parliamentary borough for which he is registration officer, appoint the town clerk of the county borough to act as his deputy for the purposes of rules 9 to 15, and for the purpose of publishing the lists and notices to be published under rules 6 and 8 of this Schedule if the town clerk so desires, and any town clerk so appointed shall, for the purposes aforesaid, have the like powers and duties and be subject to the like liabilities as if he were registration officer.

Any question which may arise as to what duties are analogous duties within the meaning of the provision aforesaid shall be determined by the Local Government Board, whose determination shall be final.

(6) The overseers shall be entitled to payment for services performed and expenses incurred by them in the execution of any duties under these rules. The payments shall be made at such times as may be fixed by order of the Local Government Board for Ireland under this schedule, and any sum payable to an overseer under this provision shall be treated for the purposes of this Act as

part of the registration expenses of the registration officer on whose requisition the services were performed or the expenses were incurred.

This provision shall apply to any superintendent registrar of births and deaths, or clerk of the union who is not an existing clerk of the union, so far as respects lists or information supplied by him on the requisition of the registration officer in connection with deaths in like manner as it applies to overseers.

These rules 44 (4), (5) *and* (6) *refer to rule* 7 ; *and sec.* 44 (7). *See also* 6*th Schedule, par.* 9, *as to Parliamentary Registration* (*Ireland*) *Act* (1885), *sec.* 16, *and the substitution of the registration officer for the clerk of the union, etc.*

(7) The reference to the authority whose officer the registration officer is, or by whom he is appointed, shall be construed as a reference to the county borough council in the case of registration units in a county borough, and as a reference to the county council in the case of registration units in an administrative county, and the register for any registration unit in an administrative county shall be arranged alphabetically in townland order if the county council consider that such arrangement is more convenient than arrangement in alphabetical order of names or in street order.

Refers to rule 4.

(8) Rule of this Schedule shall be construed as if the words " or otherwise to distinguish " were inserted after the words " in separate divisions," and as if the direction as to placing marks against the names of local government electors were omitted.

(9) For the direction to the registration officer in rule 23 of this schedule to secure that no person is registered as a local government elector in respect of more than one qualification in the areas, and for the purposes therein

specified, there shall be substituted a direction to secure that no person is registered as a local government elector in respect of more than one qualification in the same district electoral division or ward.

The 6th Schedule, Paragraph 9 is the special adaptation of Acts for Ireland.

The Juries Act (Ireland), 1871 (34 and 35 Vict., c. 65) :—

> In secs. 12 and 14, a reference to the county court shall be substituted for a reference to the court at which the register of parliamentary voters is revised.

The Parliamentary Registration (Ireland) Act, 1885 (48 and 49 Vict., c. 17) :—

> In sec. 16 the "registration officer" shall be substituted for "the clerk of the union"; "fifteenth of July" shall be substituted for "first of July" and the word "male" shall be omitted.

Scilly Isles.

The application of the Act to the Scilly Isles is covered by section 45 of the Act as follows :—

The provisions of this Act shall apply to the Isles of Scilly as if those isles were an administrative county, and as if the council of those isles were a county council, and any expenses incurred by the council under this Act shall be paid as general expenses of the council.

University Elections.

The university franchise has been considerably extended and widened by the 1918 Act. The younger universities are included, and proportional representation is adopted. The holding of a degree is the basis for franchise qualification.

Franchise Qualifications (Men).

A man shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a university constituency if he is of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, and has received a degree (other than an honorary degree) at any university forming, or forming part of, the constituency, or in the case of the Scottish universities is qualified under section twenty-seven of the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868 (31 and 32 Vict., c. 48), or in the case of the University of Dublin has either received a degree (other than an honorary degree) at the university, or has obtained a scholarship or fellowship in the University whether before or after the passing of this Act.

Scottish University Qualification.

Section 27 of the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868, provides that the Chancellor, the members of the University Court, and the professors for the time being of each of the universities of Scotland, and also every person whose name is for the time being on the register, made up in terms of the provisions hereinafter set forth, of the General Council of such university, shall, if of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, be entitled to vote in the election of a member to serve in any future parliament for such university in terms of the Act.

Franchise Qualifications (Women).

A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a university constituency if she has attained the age of thirty years and either would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man, or has been admitted to and passed the final examination, and kept under the conditions required of women by the university the period of residence, necessary for a man to obtain a degree at any university forming, or forming part of, a university constituency which did not at the time the examination was passed admit women to degrees.

Registers.

The register provisions in the case of the ordinary electors' register do not apply to university constituencies but the governing body of every university forming, or forming part of, a university constituency shall cause a register to be kept in such form and made up, if desired, to such dates as they may direct, of persons entitled to vote in respect of a qualification at their university, and shall make the register available for the purpose of university elections for the constituency, and shall on the application of any person allow that person at all reasonable times to inspect and take extracts from the said register, provided that the governing body may direct that a person who before the passing of the Act has received a degree, but was not entitled to vote in respect thereof, shall have no right to be registered unless he makes a claim for the purpose.

The governing body of any such university may charge such fee as they think fit, not exceeding one pound, in respect of registration to any person who receives a degree at their university after the passing of the Act, or who has received a degree before the passing of the Act, but was not entitled to vote in respect thereof.

University Constituencies.

The expression " university constituency " means a constituency consisting of a university or a combination of universities ; and the expression " university election " means an election of a member or members of Parliament for a university constituency.

Conduct of University Elections.

(1) The provisions contained in Part I of the Fifth Schedule to the Representation of the People Act, 1918,

shall have effect with respect to elections for university constituencies other than the Scottish university constituency, and the provisions contained in Part II of that schedule shall have effect with respect to elections for the Scottish university constituency, and His Majesty may, by order in Council, make such regulations as appear necessary or desirable for giving full effect to those provisions and for the effective and proper conduct of those elections.

Any such regulations may be made so as to be applicable generally to elections for university constituencies or specially to elections for any particular university constituency. (2) This part of the Act shall, except as expressly provided, apply to university constituencies and university elections. (3) In the application of the provisions of the Act which are applicable to university constituencies and university elections to those constituencies and elections the following modifications shall have effect :—

(*a*) " Voting paper " shall be substituted for " ballot paper," and for any reference to the Ballot Act, 1872, there shall be substituted a reference to the corresponding provision of the Act, or regulations made thereunder in relation to university constituencies or university elections.

(*b*) It shall not be necessary to prepare an Absent Voters' List, but the right to vote by proxy may be exercised by any person who would be entitled to exercise such right if his name were entered on an Absent Voters' List, so long as all other conditions enabling him to vote by proxy are fulfilled.

(*c*) Where a candidate's deposit is forfeited the deposit shall be retained by the university.

University Constituency.

The Ninth Schedule of the 1918 Act gives the names of the University Constituencies and the number of the Members of Parliament :—

Oxford (2)
Cambridge (2)
London (1)
Wales (1)
Combined Universities (2)

St. Andrews.
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
} 1 seat, 3 Members.
Dublin (2)
Queens University of Belfast (1)
National University of Ireland (Dublin) (1)

Therefore there are eight Members returned for English, three for Scottish, and four for Irish Universities, a total of fifteen in all.

Conduct of Elections.

Part I. of the Fifth Schedule of the 1918 Act sets out the method of conducting a university election other than Scottish Universities and Part 2 of the same Schedule gives the provisions applicable to Scotland.

Proportional Representation.

At a contested election for a university constituency, where there are two or more members to be elected, any election of the full number of members shall be according to the principle of proportional representation, each elector having one transferable vote as defined by the Act.

(*a*) His Majesty may appoint Commissioners to prepare as soon as may be after the passing of this Act a scheme under which as nearly as possible one hundred members shall be elected to the House of Commons at a general election on the principle of proportional representation for constituencies in Great Britain returning three or more members.

(*b*) The number of members of the House of Commons as fixed under the Act shall not be increased by any such scheme. For the purpose of such scheme the Commissioners shall (after holding such local inquiries as they may deem necessary) combine into single constituencies, returning not less than three or more than seven members, such of the areas fixed as constituencies in the Ninth Schedule to the Act as they may select, but in selecting those areas they shall have regard to the advisability of applying the principle of proportional representation both to town and country.

(*c*) The scheme so prepared by the Commissioners shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and if both Houses by resolution adopt the scheme, the scheme shall, with any modifications or additions which may be agreed to by both Houses, take effect as if it were enacted in the Act, and the constituencies fixed under the scheme shall be substituted, so far as necessary, for the constituencies fixed under the Ninth Schedule to the Act.

(*d*) In any such constituency any contested election of the full number of members shall be according to the principle of proportional representation, each elector having one transferable vote as defined by this Act.

(*e*) His Majesty may by Order in Council make any adaptation of the provisions of the Act as to the machinery of registration or election which may appear to him to be necessary in consequence of the adoption of the scheme.

His Majesty may by Order in Council frame regulations prescribing the method of voting, and transferring and counting votes, at any election, according to the principle of the transferable vote and for adapting the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872, and any other Act relating to parliamentary elections thereto, and with respect to the duties of returning officers in connection and any such regulations shall have effect as if they were enacted in the Act.

Nothing contained in the Act shall, except as expressly provided therein, affect the method of conducting parliamentary elections in force at the time of the passing of the Act.

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